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SHEVARDNADZE TO SPEAK AT UN DISARMAMENT TALKS

AU031718 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Geneva, Aug 3 (AFP) -- Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has come to Geneva Wednesday and make a speech at the U.N. disarmament talks here Thursday, U.N. officials said.

Mr. Shevardnadze will arrive in Geneva Wednesday afternoon and meet with French Ambassador Pierre Morel, who is the acting conference chairman, Thursday shortly before 0800 GMT, the sources said.

Mr. Shevardnadze's speech will coincide with the 42nd anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima.

Soviet sources here did not rule out contacts between Mr. Shevardnadze and U.S. negotiators on intermediate-range missiles, strategic weapons and defence and space weapons.

Mr. Shevardnadze is expected to hold a press conference on Friday, sources said.

KARPOV SAYS U.S. WARHEADS 'MAIN IMPEDIMENT'

LD031416 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS -- The issue of American warheads for West German Pershing-1A missiles is now the main impediment to accords on Soviet and U.S. medium-range and shorter-range missiles at Geneva talks, Viktor Karpov, chief of the arms limitation and disarmament directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

The kernel of the matter is not in whether to exert pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany or not, he explained, but in realizing the "double zero option" in practice, that is in scrapping all American and Soviet medium-range and shorter-range missiles together with their warheads.

There can be no "double zero option" whereby the Soviet Union will have to destroy all its shorter-range missiles along with nuclear warheads, while the United States will retain a certain number of nuclear warheads for missiles of this class.

Whether the warheads in question are for American or West German missiles does not matter. The main thing is that Washington intends to retain a quantity of its nuclear warheads under the "double zero option".

This approach to the problem lays bare the double-faced nature of the U.S. position. If the United States really wants an agreement, the issue of American warheads for Pershing-1A's must be solved unequivocally, by way of an accord to destroy also these warheads along with warheads for Soviet shorter-range missiles.

U.S. references to its allied commitments to NATO countries cannot be accepted. The Soviet Union has allied commitments as well: The security of the Warsaw treaty member nations is of paramount significance to the Soviet Union.

We cannot agree, and the Soviet Union's allies cannot agree, to a situation where the territories of the Warsaw treaty countries could be hit by American nuclear warheads with the help of West German Pershing-1A missiles, while East European countries would not have something equivalent to offset the threat, Karpov said.

DPA Cites Karpov

LD311901 Hamburg DPA in German 1748 GMT 31 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow, (DPA) -- At the Geneva negotiations on medium-range missiles, the USSR is insisting on the elimination of U.S. nuclear warheads for the Bundeswehr's Pershing 1-A missiles. This was emphasized on Friday by Viktor Karpov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, in an interview for First German Television. In order to guarantee a zero solution, the elimination of the U.S. warheads is necessary. The missiles, which belong to the Bundeswehr, are not the subject of negotiation in Geneva. Karpov pointed out that the United States evidently wants to reserve for itself the opportunity to supply the Federal Republic with U.S. Pershing 1B's, which would be able to replace the 1-A's. The Pershing 1-B represents the first stage of the Pershing-2, and can be converted into Pershing-2's within 48 hours. This would lend a fictitious character to an agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles. "And, of course, we do not intend to permit that."

TASS CITES KAMPELMAN INTERVIEW ON ARMS NEGOTIATIONS

LD022209 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2030 GMT 2 Aug 87

[Text] New York, [no date as received] -- The Reagan administration is still not ready to remove the remaining obstacles to an agreement to eliminate, on a global scale, U.S. and Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles (INF) and operational and tactical missiles (SRINF), despite the prospects of such an agreement, which have substantially improved as a result of the USSR's series of wide-ranging and constructive proposals. As shown in an interview with Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation to the talks on nuclear and space weapons with NBC television, the United States continues to resort to all kinds of tricks and justifications in an attempt to evade a solution to the problem of the 72 U.S. nuclear warheads on the "Pershing-1A SRINF" belonging to the FRG.

Kampelman alleged that the elimination of these warheads "for the sake of concluding an agreement with the adversary" would "do damage" to NATO and to U.S. relations with its allies. He stated at the same time that the United States is "fully ready to conclude agreements between the United States and the USSR on the questions that are on our agenda. If you take this perverted logic further, it turns out that the "West German Pershings" are not on this agenda, and a decision on them ought to be made by Washington's NATO allies and not the United States. It is, incidentally, well known that the warheads for the "Pershing-1A" operational and tactical missiles are under U.S. control and can be mounted on missiles and used only with the consent of the U.S. President. The fact that they pose a direct threat to the USSR's Eastern European allies is, likewise, well known.

U.S. REACTION TO DRAFT STRATEGIC ARMS TREATY CITED

LD312203 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2120 GMT 31 Jul 87

[Text] Washington, Jul 31 (TASS) -- On Friday the U.S. State Department made a statement concerning the draft "Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons" and the draft of additional statements and common understandings to it that the Soviet Union submitted at the Geneva talks. Expressing in general terms hope for the possibility of reaching a bilateral accord in this field, the State Department stressed at the same time that any limitations on the "Star Wars" program would be unacceptable to the United States. This position by the State Department shows that the administration is unwilling to strengthen the ABM Treaty and to provide the possibility of reducing strategic offensive arms.

U.S., NATO CONTINUE 'HACKNEYED' NUCLEAR ARGUMENTS

LD031759 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS -- Follows commentary by Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military news analyst:

The Soviet Union has cleared the way to reaching constructive agreements on medium-range and theatre missiles on a global scale. Yet the USA continues hampering progress at Geneva, by preserving there the obstacles artificially put up by it. In this policy Washington is actively assisted by official London, Bonn and Paris. Nevertheless, there is a realisation in all of those capitals that the Soviet initiatives have created a situation when it is very difficult to reiterate the traditional Western "no", since thus the most ardent advocates of nuclear weapons will expose their own selves in front of the whole world.

In this connection they in NATO are hastily drawing up plans for a "compensation" of the nuclear weapon which are to be scrapped as a result of a Soviet-American accord.

As the British newspaper SUNDAY TIMES just said, high-ranking representatives of the North Atlantic bloc states have examined in Brussels a report containing recommendations on an additional number of nuclear capable F-111 fighter bombers to be deployed in the British isles, and on the NATO member countries to be supplied with sea-based cruise missiles if a treaty on medium-range and theatre missiles is concluded. Earlier it was reported that plans were examined for the deployment in Britain and, possibly, in Spain, of B-52 strategic bombers carrying cruise missiles, and for placing under the NATO jurisdiction of U.S. "Los Angeles" submarines with cruise missiles.

Consequently, instead of a real cut in the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, a nuclear "rearmament" of NATO is proposed. Thus, contrary to the "apprehensions" voiced in the NATO countries allegedly in connection with the Soviet SS-20 missiles, as soon as a real opportunity appears to remove these missiles, a different thing becomes obvious: Some people in NATO are "concerned" with the preservation and even buildup of the nuclear arsenals of the bloc countries, rather than the elimination of the mythical "Soviet menace".

This happens despite the fact that the United States would, as before, have after the scrapping of ground-based Pershing-2 and cruise misiles more than 4,000 nuclear warheads in Europe designed for delivery by aircraft which are capable of striking deep into the Soviet Union's territory, tactical anuclear missiles and nuclear artillery as well as nuclear powered submarines carrying missiles, which are under the control of the NATO supreme allied commander in Europe. This was admitted by Burns, U.S. deputy undersecretary of state.

They also "forget" about the nuclear potentials of Britian and France, which are not covered by a future Soviet-American agreement. But by the late nineties, i.e. before the completion of the Soviet-American cuts, these two countries will have 2,000 nuclear warheads.

Also astonishing is the stand of the West European NATO countries from another viewpoint: a buildup instead of a cut in the nuclear weapons in Europe is fraught with serious dangers to the whole continent, since it will play into the hand of those strategists overseas, who yet hope that it would be possible to wage a nuclear war confined to the European framework and not outgrowing into a world war, i.e. a war in which it would be possible to "save" the territory of the United States while making the allies a target of retaliatory strikes.

If one looks at the situation taking shape in the world in broader terms, it is necessary to point out the main thing: Even if full agreement is reached on the issues of medium and theatre missiles, the USA, Britain, the FRG and France by no means wish to view it as a step towards nuclear free Europe and nuclear free world. The main point to them is to preserve "nuclear deterrence", and that the "flexible reaction" strategy be left intact. All this is evidence of how strong the old stereotypes leaving their imprint on foreign policy yet are. The ruling circles of some NATO member countries do not seem to wish to give up the hackneyed cliches of outdated nuclear scholastics.

NONPROLIFERATION TALKS HELD IN MOSCOW

LD301323 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 30 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS -- Another round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was held in Moscow on July 27-30. A wide range of issues was discussed, namely the strengthening of international nuclear non-proliferation regime and its basis -- the agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, safe development of nuclear power engineering and boosting the prestige and potential of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The consultations passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

The Soviet delegation at the consultaions was led by Andranik Petrosyants, chairman of the State Committee on the Utilisation of Atomic Energy, the American [delegation] by Ambassador at Large Richard Kennedy.

The head of the American delegation was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

TASS CITES KORIONOV ON NUCLEAR DETERRENCE CONCEPT

LD010807 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 1 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS -- "The 'nuclear deterrence' concept far from reducing, on the contrary, increases the danger of armed conflicts breaking out. The latter's probability will further increase after nuclear weapons are placed in outer space. It does not take a prophet to realise that destabilisation caused by such developments may turn into a dangerous crisis," Vitaliy Korionov points out in the newspaper PRAVDA today.

The political news analyst of the newspaper adds that "already today the 'nuclear deterrence' concept is undoubtedly a drag on the talks, both bilateral and multilateral ones, aimed at putting an end to the weapons race."

The Soviet Union, he points out, "resolutely rejects the extremely dangerous 'nuclear deterrence' doctrine. It persistently calls for laying the foundation for a nuclear free world."

"The realistic concrete programme put forward by our country for completely freeing the world by the beginning of the new millenium from all types of nuclear weapons is the main path for delvering humanity of the threat of a nuclear apocalypse.

The fresh Soviet proposals on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear missiles both in Europe and in Asia met with ardent support everywhere, because the peoples see in their implementation the first practical step towards a breakthrough on the nuclear disarmament front, which definite circles in Washington have been trying to foil for so many years. Nowadays the possibility of such a breakthrough has become even more real than ever before. It is imperative of the times to take advantage of that possibility."

"The total irrelevance of the 'nuclear deterrence' concept is particularly obvious nowadays that the movement is broadening worlwide for reaching Soviet-American agreement on medium-range and theatre missiles", the observer points out. "The historic chance opening now shall not be missed. This is the unanimous demand of all who stand on the positions of sanity. Those who cling tenaciously to the doctrines of yesteryear are in conflict with the present."

UN ISSUES GORBACHEV MERDEKA REPLIES AS DOCUMENT

LD031619 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 3 TASS -- The text of replies given by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to questions from the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA has been issued in the United Nations as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

PRAVDA REVIEW OF WEEK'S INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

PM031115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 87 Second Edition p 4

["International Review" column by Nikolay Kurdyumov]

[Text] A Breath of Fresh Air [subhead]

The past week has brought new evidence of the broad approval and general support encountered in different parts of the planet by the Soviet Union's bold and constructive policy in the world arena, a policy that sets an example for new political thinking in the struggle to improve the international situation and to ensure all states equal security.

This was confirmed particularly vividly by material carried by the world press devoted to the 1st anniversary of M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech, which outlined a comprehensive program for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific by settling regional conflicts, putting an end to confrontations, considerably reducing armies and fleets, introducing trust, establishing friendly relations between states, and freeing the region from the nuclear threat. The statement by Indonesian newspaper SUARA KARYA is typical in this regard. The newspaper notes that the Vladivostok speech "was a breath of fresh air for peace-loving mankind" and "was joyfully welcomed by developing countries."

Indeed, events in the past year constitute graphic proof that despite the complexity of the situation in Asia and the Pacific, the ideas of the Vladivostok peace program, which was developed in the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons, are gradually making headway, bringing about marked shifts in public opinion and an activation of the forces advocating the strengthening of mutual understanding and cooperation in this part of the world.

Despite all the diversity and the contradictoriness of the situation, positive trends in the region are indicated by signs such as the growing desire to be free from nuclear weapons expressed in the Rarotonga Treaty proclaiming the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone; the active discussion by ASEAN countries of the question of creating a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia; the resolute demonstrations in Australia and new Zealand against French nuclear tests in the Pacific; the growing demands that the Korean Peninsula be freed from nuclear weapons; and others.

The fraternal socialist countries are making a considerable contribution to the cause of ensuring security in Asia and the Pacific. For example, the DPRK Government recently put forward a new and far-reaching initiative on the stage-by-stage reduction of DPRK and South Korean Armed Forces to 100,000 men on each side, with subsequent withdrawal of all U.S. troops. Pyongyang immediately backed up this statement with a practical step: An order was issued to demobilize 100,000 soldiers and officers of the Korean People's Army by the end of this year. They will be assigned to the construction of national economic projects.

There also is growing understanding among the region's political and public circles for the Soviet concept of pan-Asian and Pacific security, which is distinguished by a qualitatively new approach toward the settlement of many complex regional problems, constructiveness in the quest for reliable practical measures to create an atmosphere of trust, a solicitous attitude toward other countries' initiatives, and a readiness to seek compromise solutions.

There is no doubt that a substantial contribution to improving the situation in Southeast Asia would be made by a solution to the Cambodian problem that takes into account the fundamental interests of the Cambodian people and the political realities prevailing in the region. Favorable preconditions have been created for progress in such a settlement. PRK leader Heng Samrin noted a few days ago that the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the PRK Government have made a principled decision to adopt a course of political settlement of the Cambodian problem through national reconciliation. For this purpose, they are prepared to embark on a dialogue with all opposing groups and their leaders, except Pol Pot and his closest associates, who are guilty of the most grievous crime -- genocide -- against their own people. The Soviet Union expresses solidarity with the PRK leadership's course toward national reconciliation and is prepared to contribute in every way to a fair political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

It is, however, impossible not to speak of trends of another sort, of people who stubbornly play the role of champions of militarism and of the transformation of the Asian and Pacific region into an arena of nuclear confrontation. It is indicative, for example, that while the USSR and the PRC have signed the protocols to the Rarotonga Treaty containing pledges by the powers to respect the nuclear-free zone's status and not to test nuclear devices there, the other nuclear powers -- the United States, Britain, and France -- have refused to do so. Furthermore, Washington has resorted to a policy of pressure and threats toward states unwilling to tolerate nuclear weapons on their territory or off their shores.

Against this background a striking contrast is presented by the policy of the Land of the Soviets, which is trying with the utmost seriousness and responsibility to accommodate the Asian people's desires, taking their aspirations into account. It is not surprising that the USSR's active position on the question of eliminating the nuclear threat and creating a comprehensive system of international security meets with the sympathy and approval of the peoples. The wide response and tremendous positive reaction in the world with which the new Soviet initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's answers to questions from the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA were greeted are a graphic illustration of this.

Washington's Position [subhead]

A central place is held among these initiatives by the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union to agree to the elimination of all medium-range missiles, not only in Europe but in the Asian part of the country, too. In other words, we are withdrawing the question of keeping the 100 warheads on medium-range missiles, which are the subject of discussion at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. Provided, of course, that the United States does the same. Operational and tactical missiles also will be eliminated. In short, the Soviet Union is proceeding on the basis of the "global double-zero" concept.

Welcoming this exceptionally important step by the USSR, statesmen and public figures in many countries and the press are united in the opinion that the bold Soviet proposals contain the potential for a breakthrough in the cause of nuclear disarmament and for the achievement of a corresponding agreement at the Geneva talks, and that it is now up to Washington to make a political decision. "Never since the end of World War II," the British newspaper MAIL ON SUNDAY says in an editorial, for instance, "has there been a better opportunity to achieve general nuclear disarmament than now. The Russians sincerely seek real progress at the Geneva talks." THE NEW YORK TIMES admits: "The Soviet leader caught Washington unawares with his statement that the Soviet Union is prepared to agree to the total elimination of medium-range missiles. M. Gorbachev again appeared in the guise of a dynamic leader ready to make important compromises. [paragraph continues]

The Algerian newspaper L'HORIZON, for its part, notes that by putting forward the proposals for the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, the Soviet leader is helping to unblock the Geneva talks and clear the way for a summit meeting.

How is official Washington responding to the USSR's major new initiative, when it would appear that all the imaginary obstacles created at the Geneva talks by the U.S. side should disappear and a real prospect open up for the drawing up of a draft treaty on the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in the very near future? Unfortunately, as of today the U.S. Administration's position is not notable for a constructive approach and does not inspire optimism. Here is why. According to the White House chief, the United States is prepared to agree to the destruction of missiles and a ban on reequipping these systems as weapons of a different type. As President Reagan has announced, the U.S. delegation in Geneva has been instructed to submit a proposal making provision for a "double-zero" with regard to medium-range and operational and tactical missiles. However, it turns out that the zero-option U.S.-style does not by any means provide for the elimination of all warheads without exception, but is rather like a suitcase with a false bottom, by means of which Washington seeks to keep the 72 nuclear warheads for Pershing-1A missiles in the FRG.

In other words, a new barrier is being erected in the path of an agreement, and, by way of justification, as if to mock common sense, an "argument" has been dreamed up. The U.S. warheads for deployment on West German missiles are, they say, weapons belonging to a "third party," and cannot be the subject of talks. In a word, it has supposedly never occurred to Washington that the warheads should be destroyed along with the delivery vehicles. Since, moreover, the FRG is forbidden, as is well known, to possess nuclear weapons, the untenability of the U.S. position is obvious. Not for nothing is it causing perplexity, to put it mildly, even among U.S. reporters covering the administration's policy. A dialogue that occurred the other day in the course of an official briefing given by White House spokesman M. Fitzwater is notable in this respect.

Question: How can you call this system (the Pershing-1A system) a third country system, if the United States controls the nuclear warheads?

Answer: But West Germany controls the launchers.

Question: Yes, but they cannot launch the missiles without the warheads, so we clearly play a very direct part. Why are you acting as though we were not playing any part in it at all?

Comment, as the saying goes, is superfluous.

The near future at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva will show whether Washington intends to continue to retard their progress by inventing all kinds of pretexts, or whether it intends to work seriously and constructively toward the attainment of an important agreement. Thus far, the U.S. side's approach cannot but cause concern.

Something else also causes concern, namely the haste with which the U.S. capital tried to brush aside the draft agreement submitted by the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms, on certain measures to strengthen the Treaty on Limitation of Antiballistic Missile Systems and to prevent an arms race in space. The Soviet position is based on the premise that preserving the ABM Treaty and strengthening its operation is a necessary prerequisite for the conclusion of an accord on 50-percent reductions in the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States. [paragraph continues]

Although State Department Spokesman C. Redman announced that the U.S. side is "carefully studying" the document and even "impatiently awaiting" a detailed exchange of opinions in Geneva, he then tried to cast aspersions on it, expressing "disappointment" that the Soviet side still seeks to impose limitations on the "strategic defense initiative," which, as is well known, is aimed at the speediest deployment of arms in space, which is categorically prohibited by the ABM Treaty.

The Voice of Africa [subhead]

One of last week's major events was the Addis Ababa 23d session of the assembly of heads of state and government of the OAU, an organization that is the recognized spokesman for the interests and aspirations of the continent's peoples in the struggle to consolidate their political independence and economic autonomy and for universal peace and security.

The supreme forum of African states was held at a time when Africa is facing difficult and complex socioeconomic problems inherited from colonialism, while several countries continue to suffer from food shortages, droughts, and locust invasions.

The participants in the assembly noted that it is the historic task of Africa's peoples to achieve total liberation of the continent from the remnants of colonialism and racism. The whole world knows that legitimized violation of the basic rights of millions of people reigns in South Africa and Namibia through the fault of the racist RSA. The apartheid regime is destabilizing the situation in the south of the continent by carrying out more and more acts of aggression and economic subversion against the "Frontline States."

The peoples of Africa, like all the peoples, are vitally interested in easing the tension and terminating the arms race in order to solve the complex socioeconomic tasks and protect themselves from predatory exploitation. Therefore, it is no accident that awareness of the interlinkage between disarmament and development and of the impossibility to separate the solution of the region's urgent problems from the general improvement of the political climate all over the world ran right through the assembly's decisions. The documents approved by the forum's participants -- the declaration on disarmament and development in Africa and the action program for peace, security, and cooperation in the continent -- note that the resources that could be released as a result of disarmament must be channeled into social and economic development. The assembly described the transformation of Africa into a nuclear-free zone as the primary task in ensuring security in the continent.

The assembly participants condemned the policy of Western powers, which continue to be patrons of the RSA racists contrary to the interests of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and the world public's demands. Calling for the UN Security Council to convene to adopt universal mandatory sanctions against the RSA, they declared that this is the only way to peaceful elimination of the apartheid system.

Soviet people express invariable solidarity with the courageous liberation struggle waged by South Africa's and Namibia's patriots headed by the African National Congress and the Southwest African People's Organization and express confidence in the triumph of their just cause. The Soviet Union will remain prepared to actively cooperate with the OAU countries in the quest for solutions to the vitally important problems facing all mankind today in the struggle for a nuclear-free world, for the establishment of a new international economic order, and against imperialism, racism, and apartheid.

'TOP PRIORITY' PROGRAM VIEWS DOUBLE-ZERO OPTION

LD011911 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 31 Jul 87

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Profs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to Top Priority. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and together with me in the studio are our usual panel, Profs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov.

Now that the Soviet Union has removed what appeared to be one of the major obstacles in the way to an INF accord by proposing a global double-zero, that is, the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles both in Europe and Asia, a major sticking point is the American warheads, nuclear warheads, for 72 West German Pershing 1-A missiles. Well, there have been other developments in this field of late. The United States agreed not to transfer the missiles and the launchers slated for destruction under this treaty to third countries, and also agreed not to convert or alter the existing weapons in such a way as to breach that agreement or escape its terms. Well of course some problems remain, and, in addition to those American warheads, they include problems of verification with compliance and a rather vague American position on the pace of eliminating intermediate nuclear missiles. However, according to some optimistic views, a deal could be hammered out within 2 to 3 months, although much would depend on the meeting in September in New York between Soviet Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz. Now, I would be surprised if there were no difficulties at all, but sometimes they, at times they seem so great they are insurmountable. Why? Professor Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, you know, my position, which is little bit more pessimistic than yours and my friend Sergey, [words indistinct] we have already removed, as you put it, major obstacles on the way on hammering the treaty as soon as possible [as heard], within 1, 2 or 3 months. I still have a feeling that there is a fight within this administration about major points of the agreement. And my feeling is that we are just dragging them with arm, by, if you like, even by force, to conclude that agreement, and that makes me pessimistic.

[Kuznetsov] I think it's force of persuasion, not...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Well, maybe, whatever, whatever you call it.

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yeah.

[Bogdanov] But my impression is that with every removed obstacle you have another one, and that way it seems to me to be endless. Now you have a problem of American nuclear warheads. What worries me in that? I am very much in touch will all the statements and clarifications of persons from the State Department and the American press, and what worries me -- they are not talking about the American warheads, they are talking about German Pershing 1-A's which is absolute distortion of the picture. They are trying to create an impression that the Soviet side is still insisting...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] On the destruction of the missiles.

[Bogdanov] ...(?on the destruction of) missiles, which is not the case. We are not talking about the weapons system belonging to West German Government

We are talking about the American warheads belonging to the American Government; 72 pieces. We are insisting on destroying them. They have nothing to do with bringing the third party's weapons systems into talks. And what worries me Pavel, that American experts do understand that what we mean, what it's all about, but at the same time they are creating very wrong impression about our position [as heard]. What does it mean? It means that they have no (?still) desire to settle that problem. So they bring a lot of fog in all that you know.

[Kuznetsov] I have a theory which goes that those 72 West German Pershing 1-A's are not a deterrent. It would be nonsense to see those aging missiles as a major deterrent. I think that Bonn is envious of Paris and London, which have their own national nuclear deterrents, but West Germany has been forbidden to possess nuclear arms, and, what's more, West Germany has signed the Nonproliferation Treaty, and now Bonn is trying to get around its own obligations by trying to pose as a token nuclear power through this dual control or ownership of those missiles and warheads with the United States. So it tries to pose as a token power without an official license. To me it's a reflection of a rather dangerous political trend rather than a reflection of any technical problems that we're facing with, or trying to discuss with the American side. Would you agree with that?

[Plekhanov] Yes, certainly. There are extreme conservative circles in West Germany who are interested in having at least a token of being a nuclear power and, of course, they are envious of Britain and France, not to mention of the United States, and there is a certain degree of hurt national pride which they feel in that connection. But they also feel a hurt national pride when they think about the lands that Hitler once occupied and which were then taken back by those people, peoples, to whom those lands had belonged. You know, there are revanchist circles in West Germany. As far as the actual degree of technical control over the nuclear weapons is concerned, what you just said made me recall a situation in the late fifites and early sixties when the degree of American control amounted to an American officer sitting on the airfield or in a special booth, armed with a gun and watching over those nuclear armed fighter bombers standing on the runway. Now, fighter bombers with the Bundeswehr insignia on it. [sentence as heard] And it was really scary. I mean, nobody's interested in repeating that but it is a touchy issue -- the West German control, the German control of nuclear weapons is a touchy issue.

[Kuznetsov] More political rather than technical perhaps?

[Plekhanov] More political rather than technical. But in Europe, you know, it's that side of politics which touches upon a lot of raw nerves.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah. What would happen if we, that is the Soviet Union, decided, for example, to sell some of its missiles to Hungary or Poland and then puts nearby its own nuclear warheads and refused to discuss this problem, claiming that those missiles and warheads belong to a third country? I would like to imagine the reaction in Washington.

[Bogdanov] I can imagine that very easily. You would hear such ominous, you know, accusations of the Soviet Union. You would see a lot of demonstrations and what not. I'm afraid that still the American Administration is not capable to, to, for a, for a fair game if you like, if you like. Fair game. What I mean by the fair game -- they are still looking at the whole European business as something that should be shaped exactly in the American interest only, without taking care of any European interests. And they don't care about the very major fact that the Soviet Union is a part of the European Continent. And we have our special worries about that. They are very far away. So, sometimes you come across such an egoistic, you know, approach to the Soviet-American, to the Soviet-American relations, to the relations between Europe and the Soviet Union. Such a careless (?one).

At the same time, you hear a lot of things, that we should care about the American interests, about the American legitimate security concerns, sensitivities, and well, I believe that until we are in that game we are doomed to failure. Only when we can change the game, I mean to make it absolutely fair, equal, then we can expect a success.

[Kuznetsov] Using allies by the United States looks like a time-tested ploy. We've been talking about West Germany pretending it's an independent nuclear power and the United States says it's powerless, has no influence over this issue. SDI -- that is, the Strategic Defense Initiative -- is another indication how allies are being dragged into a purely American project in order to present it as an international one. How many countries have been already involved in this project because of those promises, lavish promises, of spin-offs, technological spin-offs?

[Plekhanov] I think there are five now, there's Britain, West Germany, Italy, Israel, and Japan.

[Bogdanov] Japan, yeah, Japan.

[Kuznetsov] What's the purpose? Is this only assistance to the United States in developing all those exotic weapons or perhaps something bigger behind the...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, I think there are two things which are bigger there. On the one hand, there is the real pressure which the Americans have applied, and being the senior partner in those allied relations they are able to get away with some pressure. But it's not just pressure. It's also a material interest which some people in those countries see in becoming part of SDI research, because they think that they can get some benefits for their own economy, technological benefits that they can get by participating in those projects. But, I mean, more realistically-minded people understand that there is really very little gain that they can get from the SDI research. Number one, because the projects are highly specialized and there will be very little spin-off for civilian industries; and, number two, because it's all happening under a shroud of secrecy, and if there is anything that is most detrimental to the spread of technology, exchange of technology, it's, ah, it's the secrecy. Because the normal spread of technology requires open channels. So, I think what's happening, it's a very sad development that those countries are being hitched to the chariot of the SDI.

[Kuznetsov] Well, we continue to blame the other side for all the difficulties that arise. And my question is this: Are we ourselves perfect? I think, I believe, that our mindset, that is the mindset of many journalists, academics, scholars, experts, has failed to change, to adapt to new realities and requirements, and I believe that we are trailing far behind the new crop of leaders that we have. And didn't Mikhail Gorbachev himself say that we should be able to, to listen to the other side, because in their arguments there may be a reflection of our own weak points. Professor Bogdanov, could you answer this question?

[Plekhanov] Which one?

[Kuznetsov] We used to be more, ah, we are now more flexible than we used to be. Perhaps we're making up for those lost years or what?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I feel like self-criticizing very much. Of course we are not angels. We have no wings behind our backs.

[Kuznetsov] I can see that.

[Bogdanov] You can see that we are human and since we are human we make mistakes, many mistakes. Of course we are striving to avoid this, but I should recognize that mistakes are with, are as with any other nation on this earth. But there is one point which I would like to emphasize. (?My back) Doesn't mean that I just scrap what I have said just now. No. Just to emphasize that our, the, the, if you like an asymmetry in our position with the Americans. And if you take for instance arms control business, again I quite assume that we have made mistakes in some fields, but our position is (?asymmetrical) in the way that we were always trying to catch up with the Americans. We were always looking at their back. They were always ahead of us. Now, I put a question to you. If you are running after somebody, what feelings do you have about him? You always have a psychological feeling that he is always wrong because he is ahead of you. That psychologically makes you believe so, but, at the same time, of course, you can make your own mistakes. But objectively, objectively, if you have to catch up all the time you always have to spend a lot of resources, to make a lot of effort, [words indistinct] at the price of depriving yourself of vital things--of course you, you psychologically, you always tend to believe that the other side is wrong.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, I see, I can see your point, Profesor Bogdanov, but, at the same time, we were able to adapt our military doctrine to the new realities and to the new policies, and, like, it is now based on what is called military sufficiency, which means that we don't have to match the United States weapon for weapon or weapon-system for weapon-system.

[Bogdanov] Yes, but do you mean to say by that that we are already, by our mentality, in the field of sufficiency? No, I don't believe that. We have just started. The most important part of that is the mental part. That you have a political decision, you have a (?direction) and you need, I believe, sometimes for people to realize it, and to make it a part of their life. But I believe in one thing Pavel, that, that would be quick enough.

[Kuznetsov] Well, I recall discussing with you on some of the previous programs, some of the theories circulating in the West which seek to explain Soviet behavior, Soviet intentions, what the Kremlin's up to in this or that situation, and I think that all this guesswork is very, very traditional and therefore outdated because it does not reach to the root of the radical changes, to the radical reforms under way in this country. Well, I understand that perhaps any parallels between domestic and foreign policies may be artificial and therefore misleading. But I believe that if the stated goal in our domestic policies is a radical change, the policy of renewal, then there have to be radical ways of solving this problem. The same goes true for the foreign policies. Say, if the stated goal is to get rid of all nuclear arms by the year 2000, which I understand is not solely dependent on us, there has to be some unconventional approach to this problem. There has to be a challenge to conventional thinking. Why are those people in the West so slow in seizing this golden opportunity to jointly promote world security if they understand we are being serious now?

[Plekhanov] Well, because there are very influential people in the West and forces in the West, if you will, which need the old Soviet Union, and they are not sure that they are interested in having a different Soviet Union to deal with. Because, you know, the idea of a Soviet threat challenging peace and security and freedom across the world has been a bugaboo which a lot of politicians based their careers on. I mean, one could tick off hundreds of names. And now that benefit is slipping away and the Soviet Union acquires a different image internationally, and more and more people see that it's not just cosmetics but these are real changes happening in the Soviet Union and that they stem, those changes stem from the very essence of the Soviet society.

It's not something which is imposed, foisted upon the country, but it's something that proceeds from what the country is all about, and that of course leads to rethinking, and rethinking is always, always difficult. So the West is in need of a perestroika [restructuring] of its own in terms of viewing the Soviet Union, viewing East-West relations, thinking what is possbile in East-West relations, what are the limits of hostility, what are the possibilities for cooperation. All those questions need to be addressed in a fresh way. And, obviously, there is a reluctance among people who are not able to think in a fresh way.

[Kuznetsov] Well, let's hope that since security is indivisable and there can be no Soviet security without American security and vice versa, or British security without Soviet security and so on and so forth; so let's hope that perestroika or restructuring in the West doesn't take another couple of decades.

And our time is up, and on this note I'm signing off. I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host. Together with me on Top Priority were Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. Good-bye till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength.

FOREIGN MINISTRY NEWS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LD311414 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 31 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (TASS) -- The time of confrontation and arguments preventing us from setting up cooperation between the socialist and capitalist countries must become a thing of the past. Matters relating to human rights and freedoms must not exacerbate relations between countries. They should be used for dialogue, for setting up cooperation, and for seeking mutually acceptable solutions, stated Professor Vladimir Kartashkin, sector head at the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, speaking at a news conference today in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center.

The West, however, he said, makes much of any issues relating to the so-called dissidents and attempts to use this as a basis for its human rights policy, accusing the Soviet Union of violating those rights. Moreover, this issue takes the form of an ultimatum: Either you ensure freedom of emigration from the USSR, or else it will be impossible to achieve concrete agreements in other spheres of mutual relations.

He reported that the Soviet Union is studying the question of setting up a special tourist bureau allowing the departure of any person to the West, regardless of whether he has relatives, friends or acquaintances there, whether he has had an invitation or not. Any Soviet citizen wishing to leave for the West with the aim of visiting certain countries, historic places, or tourist sights can apply to this bureau and receive permission to go. The situation now, stressed V. Kartashkin, is such that there are no grounds for discussing these questions at any international forums.

Whereas previously persons who had emigrated some years previously were not allowed into the Soviet Union, the decision has now been made that former Soviet citizens who have received foreign citizenship will be able to come to the Soviet Union to meet relatives, friends, and visit acquaintances. We see human rights not as ground for confrontation and reciprocal accusations against each other, but as the basis for seeking mutual compromises and mutual dialogue and for solving all those questions which have built up between countries over the past years.

VORONTSOV DISCUSSES MIDEAST WITH EGYPTIAN GROUP

JN311839 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad: "Impressions of Visit to Moscow Under Gorbachev -- The New Soviet Thinking and the Middle East"]

[Text] When we -- as a delegation of the Egyptian Solidarity Committee to Moscow -- asked Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov to talk to us about Moscow's view of the Middle East crisis under the current circumstances and under the "perestroyka" (restructuring) process, which has covered all aspects of internal and external Soviet policy since Gorbachev assumed power, he told us in the presence of Ambassador Polyakov: This concept will not be understood unless it is placed within a larger framework, including the most serious issues facing our planet now and at least until the end of this century.

Vorontsov, who is leading the Soviet team to the Geneva disarmament talks, is a tactful speaker and a veteran diplomat. We were told that he belongs to the famous Vorontsov family, among whose prominent members were Aleksandr Romanovich Vorontsov, the czar's foreign minister at the beginning of the 19th century when Napoleon seemed to be threatening all of Europe.

In fact, this new concept, which Vorontsov presented to us and which tackles various issues -- naturally including the hot regional ones as an inseparable part of the planet's overall issues and within a time frame extending to the next century -- became possible after the Soviet leadership was assumed by an active and relatively young man of 56. He can make plans to deal with the issues of the age within a framework of time and place that is more comprehensive than that of his predecessors, who continued to have the decisive word past the page of 70.

This concept has even become a duty -- as all the Soviet officials we met emphasized -- since reciprocal annihilation and even the total destruction of our planet have become a danger threatening all mankind if it continues to be divided into conflicting blocs. This means that in the nuclear age, the age of mass destructive weapons, there is an issue that is more serious than the confrontation between capitalism and communism; it is the issue of preserving life on the surface of our planet. Hence, before dealing with the issue of world division into East and West, or even North and South, the subject of whether or not the world will continue to exist should be raised.

This means that ideological conflicts among contradictory or different social and economic regimes should, no matter how tense they are, be preceded by the more serious issue of protecting our planet from having its ability to support life impaired forever as a result of war or even industrial pollution in time of peace.

This means that conflicts should be subordinated to these new factors. Hence, it is essential to give top priority to stopping the arms race and preventing it from acquiring a space dimension -- "Star Wars" -- accomplishing tangible results in disarmament, and destroying all nuclear arsenals by means of gradual, balanced steps according to a timetable not going beyond the end of this century,

What is being proposed is a renunciation of war altogether as a means to settle disputes, instead doing so only through peaceful means providing that there will be no victor or vanquished. The internationally recognized legitimate rights of warring factors should be secured. Time and long peaceful interactions rather than war should finally settle these rights.

This introduction to international affairs is part of what has been termed "the new thinking" in the Soviet Union since Gorbachev's assumption of leadership. It is a thinking governed by the requirements of the nuclear age and the dangers of a comprehensive, reciprocal annihilation.

Said Vorontsov: "No continuous progress in the process of disarmament and removal of nuclear weapons is conceivable before the end of this century as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues to be a rejuvenating source of tension in a vital area of the world. Therefore, a peaceful settlement of this conflict is inevitable."

Thus, according to the new [Soviet] thinking and a strategic concept that extends to the end of the century, regional conflicts, the foremost of which is the Arab-Israeli conflict, have become strongly related to the universal confrontation between the United States and the USSR. There will be no possible detente in U.S.-Soviet relations that can be characterized by stability and continuity if there is no settlement of the hottest regional conflicts, especially in the Middle East.

Soviet officials said the United States is still fiercely resisting the USSR's successive initiatives to achieve progress on disarmament, and continues to use regional conflicts as an excuse justifying its procrastination in accepting the initiatives. The U.S. Administration used the issue of Afghanistan as an excuse on one occasion, the Gulf war on another, and the Arab-Israeli conflict on another. The Soviets want to keep them from resorting to these excuses.

According to affirmations by several Soviet officials, there are new reasons for stressing the need to settle the Middle East conflict quickly. Some of these reasons reinforce the relationship between the regional conflict and the universal confrontation between the two superpowers. The most prominent reason is the possibility that more than one side in the Middle East may possess nuclear weapons, which cannot be ruled out before the end of the century. One of Corbachev's close advisers told us: We realize that Israel possesses nuclear weapons. He reminded me that at the end of 1979 and in cooperation with the South African Government Israel carried out a nuclear explosion in the South Atlantic.

The senior official added: Israel may justify its nuclear weapons as its last resort if it is exposed to a situation in which the Arabs become capable, for some reason, of implementing their slogan of obliterating Israel. However, there are other Arab sides that we ought to expect to obtain nuclear weapons in the foreseeable future. There is nothing in the behavior of these other Arab sides to suggest that they would not use these nuclear weapons only as a last resort. According to the same senior official, there is also the issue of religious extremism, which has started to invade the region and has affected the various sides, including Israel. He said this extremism is irrational and conflicts with what we term new thinking. It is a danger that will escalate if we do not quickly end the various explosive conflicts in the region, not only the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The new Soviet thinking puts forward regional conflicts as an indivisible part of contemporary universal confrontations, with a strategic concept being planned within a time frame extending to the end of the century. This produces a concept of the Arab-Israeli conflict that differs greatly from previous ones. We only have to mention the following:

First: The USSR no longer claims that it is with some sides and against others. The Soviet media have started to ridicule claims by the West that it is essentially against Israel but with the Arabs, and state that the USSR supports every side in achieving its legitimate rights. It is not against Israel's right to exist. It supports normal relations with Israel on the condition that it abandon its current aggressive, expansionist policies, which are denying the Palestinian people's legitimate rights in particular, and the rights of several Arab sides in general.

Second: Such a course means employing political and diplomatic methods with the various sides and not resorting to ideologies or championing movements, organizations, or revolutionary regimes against so-called conservative or reactionary regimes. It is a course that is not based on axes but condemns them and regards them as an obstacle to the attainment of a comprehensive settlement. Thus, the USSR played a major role in achieving reconciliation among the PLO factions, and this effort was crowned with the convocation of the PNC session in Algiers. The USSR is still exerting intensive efforts to achieve Palestinian-Syrian, Palestinian-Jordanian, Syrian-Iraqi, and Syrian-Egyptian reconciliations to achieve a minimum level of Arab understanding and a joint stance, as an indispensable condition for an international conference on the Middle East.

When Gorbachev received Hafiz al-Asad in Moscow recently -- as it is known Syria still constitutes a basic pillar for the Soviet presence in the region -- he stressed that he will continue military support to Damascus. However, he refused to adopt Al-Asad's stand toward 'Arafat and the PLO. Observers noted that Gorbachev's farewell dinner speech did not include, contrary to the Syrian president's speech, any mention of Camp David.

Third, Vorontsov's opinion that continuous progress on the issue of disarmament -- which is the major issue in the Soviet viewpoint -- will face a setback if it is not accompanied by a settlement of the hot regional conflicts, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, means that a settlement of these regional conflicts should not be governed only by temporary circumstances, but rather be achieved in a manner that will guarantee stability over a long-term strategic period.

This means, for instance, that the Palestine question should have a sound solution, one that will not make it a cause for the renewal of tension in the meantime -- a solution that is not governed by the current temporary balance of power.

Fourth, we posed several questions on the stand toward Israel in light of the "new thinking." We said: Your thinking, which links the disarmament issue with the Middle East crisis, should view the influential "Jewish lobby" in the United States in a different way. If it is true this lobby actually supports Reagan and his administration on all issues related to Israel, it is not necessarily true regarding this lobby's stand on the disarmament issue, because in this lobby there are sides that are known for their hostility to the Star Wars plan -- sides that could stand against Reagan and support the Soviets regarding this issue in particular.

We asked: What of Peres' assessment that there is something new in the USSR and that there is a room for exploring the opportunities for reactivating the Soviet Jews' immigration to Israel? Peres is enthusiastic about holding an international conference, since this would pave the way for an Israeli-Soviet dialogue, which could produce positive results for Israel.

We asked this question of Vorontsov because his name was connected with the exploration of the opportunities for renewing Soviet-Israeli relations when he was ambassador to Paris, when the world press clamored at the time over his first open meeting with the Israeli ambassador in Paris.

Furthermore, in his statement to the Italian Communist Party organ L'UNITA, Comrade Gorbachev said that the USSR's relations with Israel can be resumed on the condition that true progress is achieved toward a settlement of the Middle East crisis. What did he mean by the word "progress"? At what stage of the negotiations will circumstances be considered appropriate for resuming relations?

Vorontsov said: We mean progress in the Israelis' way of thinking and their readiness to hold dialogue and withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. Regrettably, so far, whenever we try to hold a dialogue with them on the Middle East crisis, they focus on the issue of Soviet Jews' immigration -- an issue that concerns the Soviet Union's sovereignty and about which they have no right to talk.

Others said the following: Israel has nothing to do with Soviet Jews' immigration. This issue is governed by human rights and the Helsinki accords. These accords must be respected if we want to refute the pretexts the West uses to place obstacles in the way of useful talks. This is a completely separate issue that has nothing to do with some American Jews' hostility towards Star Wars. At any rate, we do not allow the immigration of those who have state or military secrets for reasons of security.

They said: We have contacts with Israel, but we will not have relations unless the reasons that were behind the severance of relations are removed. In any case, we do not believe a Soviet-Israeli dialogue can be opposed by any party that agrees on the principle of holding an international conference on the Middle East.

We asked Vorontsov about the official delegation currently visiting Israel. He said: It is not a political delegation but one specializing in consular affairs. It is entrusted with the task of discussing the condition of Soviet real estate and property in Israel, some of which belongs to the Russian Church. Soviet property there in a bad shape now. In return for this, the Israelis demanded that an Israeli delegation visit the USSR, but we rejected this demand because Israel has no property in the USSR.

The U.S. TIME magazine this week carries an article on "Gorbachev's Resolution." The magazine said: The USSR is the only party to the Middle East crisis that now has contacts with all the parties to the conflict, without exception. Such contacts are of a vital importance if it wants to make progress in preparing for the international conference.

All the Soviet efforts on the Middle East crisis are now being centered on achieving this objective at the most appropriate time. The international conference and relations with Egypt will be the subject of our next article.

Further on Vorontsov Talks

JN021738 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Aug 87 p 7

[Second part of article by Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad: "Impressions of Visit to Moscow Under Gorbachev -- the International Conference and Relations with Egypt"]

[Text] Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, surprised us -- as a delegation of the Egyptian Solidarity Committee -- by saying that his government does not object to holding bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab sides provided these negotiations are held within the framework of the international conference. We were suprised because this statement apparently contradicted the Soviet stance. This policy adheres to holding an international conference as the only way out of the Middle East crisis. The Soviets also objected to the Camp David agreement because they were "separate, bilateral negotiations."

There are two concepts of the conference: Peres' concept considers the conference as "an umbrella" for bilateral negotiations that are held directly between each of the Arab sides and Israel. This "umbrella" will serve as a means of sparing any embarrassment for the Arab sides that condemned Camp David. In this way, they can also hold direct bilateral negotiations under the pretext that these negotiations are held under international legitimacy and the UN "umbrella." This concept divests the conference of any real meaning. The second concept, which the USSR has followed so far, gives the conference a decisive role in accomplishing the settlement process. Is this stance being reconsidered? Is the stance on bilateral negotiations within committees not the main point in this regard?

Vorontsov said: We distinguish between two categories of problems: The first is general in nature, having general regional and international dimensions; and the second concerns issues that are purely bilateral, meaning that they concern Israel and each of the Arab states independently. In other words, the second category includes issues that can be settled through the sovereign decisions of the two sides alone. There are issues that cannot be dealt with except within the framework of the international conference and with all those sides present because by their nature, these issues cannot be decided only by the two sides in the dispute. The most prominent of these issues are the Palestinian issues, the termination of the state of war, and international guarantees for peace. There are other issues that do not require the international conference's decision to make valid agreements. This is because they are purely bilateral and can be dealt with bilaterally outside the conference's framework.

What is interesting about this concept is that it does not cancel the original Soviet concept. It also does not adopt a rigid stand on its implementation in a way that would, for instance, give Peres and his supporters a pretext to say the Soviet stand eventually seeks to hinder rather than promote reaching possible agreements.

It is practical to seek a compromise that would refute the arguments of those who oppose the conference either overtly or covertly.

Indeed, this methodology entails an inherent search for a compromise. This search is manifested by the fact that the Soviet approach does not entirely condemn separate solutions. Rather, it approves the principle of bilateral agreements even if they were separate, provided they are applied to certain aspects of the dispute that concern only the signatories, and provided that the issue they deal with are under the sovereignty of the signatories of the agreements. In other words, these agreements should not be expanded to deal with other issues that transcend their framework and should be within the framework of the international conference.

This undoubtedly includes something new in the Soviet stand. In the past, the Soviets completely condemned the Camp David Accords as a whole. They did so because the accords were concluded outside the framework of an international conference, ended the state of war only between Egypt and Israel, and dealt with an issue outside the authority of the two states signing the accords, the issue of Palestine. This disregards the fact that no solution has been achieved to this question based on the Camp David Accords or that the parties to the accords are no longer committed to them as a basis for settling this issue.

What draws our attention is the new aspect of the Soviet stand, which does not consider -- at least in principle -- the Camp David Accords an obstacle to improving Soviet-Egyptian relations, because both countries are calling for an international conference to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and because President Mubarak believes that experience has proved that the Palestinian portion of the Camp David Accords is not suitable for settling the question.

Before we touch on the tangible progress in Soviet-Egyptian relations, as demonstrated by the way the Egyptian Solidarity Committee's delegation was received, we must examine another extremely important point dealing with the Soviet concept of an international conference. The "new Soviet thinking" now holds that the international conference is a means to deal with all the hot regional conflicts, the solution of which depends on more than one party and which could involve the superpowers, with consequent threats to world peace. This description applies to several conflicts in the Middle East, including the Gulf war and the Arab-Israeli conflict. This course is in harmony with what we explained in our previous article, that the "new Soviet thinking" stresses the organic connection between regional conflicts and confrontation between the two superpowers, along with the need for joint action by the superpowers to settle the most serious regional conflicts.

Despite this, Vorontsov stressed to us that, from a procedural viewpoint, any international conference convened to settle any regional issue must not depend on specific results in the disarmament talks or in any talks of a general international nature between the two superpowers. This means that in its procedural aspects and results the international conference on the Middle East must be independent. The conference must also be independent from other international agreements to avoid linking it to other regional conflicts around the world, which can eventually hamper a solution to all of them.

The Soviet side also stressed to us that the international conference is the only means for achieving a settlement. However, because it is the only means, it must be well prepared, and its convocation must not be hastened in a manner leading to its failure and a serious setback after all other means of settlement have failed.

Regarding relations between Moscow and Cairo, the level of the officials that received the delegation of the Egyptian Solidarity Committee and their statements in meetings show a sincere desire to promote relations with Egypt in all fields, especially after the settlement of an issue that has remained serious throughout the years -- the frozen Egyptian debts to the USSR.

In addition to Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, and the the veteran writer Sofronov, the Egyptian delegation was received by Vorontsov, Soviet deputy foreign minister; Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the International Department; the chairman of the Council of Nationalities at the Supreme Soviet Presidium; Anatoliy Gromyko, son of Andrey Gromyko and director of the Africa Institute; and many Soviet experts on Mideast issues, in addition to experts on the "new Soviet thinking" concerning the current comprehensive economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

It can be said in general that these officials are the highest echelon of these who deal with the Middle East in the Soviet state, party, and institutions. Indeed, these receptions were the highest that can be accorded a nongovernmental delegation. They were characterized by a popular trend intended to appeal to the various sectors of Egyptian public opinion.

Many officials, led by the chairman of the Council of Nationalities, were eager to reiterate the Soviet leadership's appreciation for President Mubarak and his wisdom, stressing the methods of consultation, exchange of letters, and direct contacts as a decisive step toward strengthening relations between the two countries.

It is worth mentioning that the new Soviet economic reforms include the establishment of direct economic relations between several Soviet economic establishments and Western companies and establishments to allow joint ventures. According to more than one Soviet official, it will be possible to have similar relations with Third World countries, particularly Egypt. These relations will bring together the state sectors and be to a great extent flexible. This issue is worthy of consideration, given the Egyptian policy of diversifying contacts in terms of the economy and production.

No doubt the new Soviet thinking, which is also called the "Grobachev revolution," surprises many people outside the Soviet Union, including Arabs and Egyptians.

In our meetings there, we said Egyptian-Soviet relations reached their peak 2 decades ago and began to fall backward. Now it is possible to rebuild them. However, neither Egypt nor the Soviet Union are as they were in the sixties.

Our relations will not be rebuilt if we base our moves on nostalgia for that period because it will not come again. To avoid misunderstandings and a new setback, we must study the "new Soviet thinking" and explore new avenues to rebuild our relations and deal with regional as well as major international issues that may impinge on our national and pan-Arab interests.

We said that these issues are important in terms of establishing Soviet-Egyptian relations on a firm foundation. Indeed we agreed, as two solidarity committees, to set up a working group from both sides to explore the dimensions and problems of the new Soviet thinking and its impact on Soviet relations with Egypt, the Arab region, and the world in general.

TEHRAN ANNOUNCES START OF NAVAL MANEUVERS IN GULF

LD031611 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Nicosia August 3 TASS -- Iran today announced the beginning of three-day naval manoeuvres in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, Radio Tehran reported.

In view of this, it warned the ships of all countries to stay clear of its territorial waters during this time. All foreign military and civilian aircraft were also asked not to overfly the area.

PRAVDA REVIEWS MECCA ALLEGATIONS, REACTIONS

PM031701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS reports: "About the Events in Mecca"]

[Text] Nicosia, 3 Aug -- According to the Iranian Government, 650 people died or are missing as a result of the clashes which occurred in Mecca last Friday, 700 of the injured have been hospitalized, and 1,800 pilgrims were given medical assistance, IRNA reports.

President Khamene'i of Iran held a meeting with the ambassadors of Muslim states in Tehran. He rejected Saudi assertions that the police did not open fire and that the clashes took place between Iranians and pilgrims from other countries. Khamene'i called on the Muslim states to condemn the "barbaric slaughter of peaceful pilgrims," placing responsibility for this slaughter at the same time also on the United States.

Cairo, 3 Aug -- The leaders of Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Kuwait, and a number of other Arab states have sent messages to the Saudi leadership condemning the actions of the Iranian pilgrims. Sh. Pirzada, secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization, has expressed serious concern in connection with the events, which claimed many lives, MENA reports.

An Iranian commission that arrived in Jeddah to investigate the circumstances that led up to the tragic incident has left Saudi Arabia following the refusal by the Saudi authorities to discuss this problem with it. According to the official Saudi version, the police did not fire a single shot. The entire responsibility for the incident, which claimed many lives, is being placed on the Iranian pilgrims.

MOZAMBIQUE'S CHISSANO MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT

Greeted at Airport

PM031843 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "On an Official Friendly Visit"]

[Excerpt] Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, arrived in Moscow 3 August for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

J. Chissano and the members of the Mozambican party and state delegation he is heading were greeted at Vnukovo Airport by L.N. Zaykov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs; P.N. Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman; and A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Also present were B, Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; USSR Ministers A.N. Volkov and Ye.A. Kozlovskiy; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister; USSR Ambassador to Mozambique N.K. Dybenko, and other officials.

G. Sengo, Mozambican ambassador to the USSR, and heads of diplomatic missions of a number of African states accredited to the USSR were also in the welcome party. [passage omitted]

Meets With Gorbachev

PM041031 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "New Boost to Cooperation"]

[Text] Talks began in the Kremlin on 3 August between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who arrived in the Soviet Union on an official and friendly visit at the head of a party and state delegation.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were: E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister; P.N. Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman; N.V. Talyzin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and defense minister; A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary; N.K. Dybenko, ambassador of the USSR to the People's Republic of Mozambique, and other officials.

Taking part on the Mozambique side were: M. Matsinhe, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee Political Bureau, secretary of the Party Control Committee of the Frelimo Party Central Committee, and security minister; J. Carrilho, secretary of the Frelimo Party Central Committee; P. Mocumbi, secretary of the Frelimo Party Central Committee and foreign minister; A. Macamo, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee, member of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, and general secretary of the Mozambique Workers' Organization; A. Osman, finance minister; J. Kachamila, mineral resources minister; and other Mozambican comrades.

Giving an assessment of Soviet-Mozambican relations, M.S. Gorbachev and J. Chissano noted with satisfaction their foundation based on the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique, the 10th anniversary of which was widely marked this year in the two countries. Through joint efforts a great deal has been done in different spheres of cooperation, covering the most important areas of life between the two countries and peoples. In this a determining role is played by the close ties between the CPSU and the Frelimo Party and between the party and state leaders of the two countries. The line of the all-round development of Soviet-Mozambique cooperation and of making it ever more effective and more fully in accordance with the interests of the peoples of the two countries will continue to be implemented in the future. With this end in view the question of how to involve unused reserves was discussed in specific terms.

The Mozambican leader provided information on the situation in the country and on efforts to mobilize the population and available resources to implement the decisions of the sixth plenum of the Frelimo Party Central Committee aimed at strengthening the party and its leading role in the life of the country; renewing the national economy; and eliminating armed banditry. At the heart of Mozambique's difficulties lies the aggressive course toward political and economic destabilization which is being carried out by the racist regime of Pretoria.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that the activity of the Frelimo Party, which is solving vital tasks of party and state, military, and economic construction under difficult conditions, finds understanding and support in the Soviet Union. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned its solidarity with and support for Mozambique have been and remain invariable and effective. For us this is a matter of principle.

The attention of J. Chissano was drawn to the Soviet peace initiatives on questions of disarmament and on establishing an all-embracing system of international security and a new economic order. The developing countries, as well as the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, need a peaceful atmosphere in order to implement their creative plans.

At the same time the imperialist policy of diktat, which encroaches on the right of each people independently to choose the ways and forms of its development and to defend that choice, was categorically rejected. Here there can be no talk of departing from the principles which the CPSU and the Frelimo Party have adhered to throughout their history.

During the exchange of opinions on the situation in southern Africa, where a tense and explosive situation prevails through the fault of the RSA and its patrons, M.S. Gorbachev and J. Chissano firmly condemned the Pretoria regime's subversive actions against the neighboring independent states, above all Mozambique and Angola, and the racist authorities' repression of the South African people. The Soviet side reaffirmed its invariable solidarity with the Frontline States and the national liberation movements. The settlement of the crisis in southern Africa should be based on the interests of the peoples and countries of the region, which are striving for the elimination of racism and colonialism and for the guaranteed chance of resolving their internal and foreign affairs in a sovereign manner and in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

The talks passed off in a spirit of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

DIPLOMAT REPORTEDLY DEFECTS IN MOZAMBIQUE

MD031142 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1038 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Mbabane Aug 3 SAPA -- A Russian diplomat based in Maputo, Mozambique, has defected to the United States of America, diplomatic sources said today.

The sources identified the man as Mr Vadim Valentinovich Prokhorov.

Mr Prokhorov, whose rank is not yet known, was said to be on his way to the U.S. via Frankfurt, West Germany.

The sources said he defected last week after obtaining "clearance and assistance" from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in the Mozambican capital.

He flew via Jan Smuts Airport, the sources said.

Soviet Embassy Denies Report

MB031827 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] The Soviet Embassy and the Maputo office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, UNHCR, have both denied that a Soviet diplomat based in the Mozambican capital has defected to the United States of America.

South Africa's Capital Radio reported this afternoon that a Soviet diplomat had allegedly defected to the United States last week after refusing assistance from the UNHCR office. Capital Radio also said that the alleged defector was already on his way to the United States.

The Chief of Protocol in the Soviet Embassy in Maputo, Mr (Tchikanov), told the Mozambique News Agency today that the Capital Radio story does not correspond to the truth. He said there is no information that any Soviet diplomat has defected to the United States. The UNHCR Representative in Mozambique, Mr (Urraca), told the news agency that he has no idea about the story and that it was the first time he had heard of any defection. Mr (Urraca) added that the UNHCR is not involved.

TELEGRAMS MARK ANNIVERSARY OF RELATIONS WITH MALTA

PM311041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Ministry has sent a telegram to Maltese Foreign Minister V. Tabone to mark the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Malta, which says:

"Please accept our congratulations and very best wishes on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Malta.

"The USSR bases its relations with Malta on the principles of respect for its national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in its internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit.

"The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that further strengthening mutually advantageous ties with Malta and expanding collaboration in international affairs is in the interests of our two countries' peoples. We hope that Soviet-Maltese cooperation will continue in the future to play the role of a useful factor in strengthening detente and trust in Europe and peace and security in the Mediterranean."

The Maltese Foreign Ministry notes in its telegram:

"Please accept congratulations and very best wishes from the Maltese Government on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Malta and the Soviet Union.

"The fruitful ties between Malta and the USSR are clear evidence of the understanding and cooperation that for 20 years have imbued our relations based on respect, trust, and mutual benefit.

"Malta expects these relations to grow even stronger, and this expectation is helped by the mutual desire for peace and harmony throughout the world."

IZVESTIYA Examines Relations

PM311051 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 3

[B. Kudryavtsev article: "On the Basis of Equality"]

[Text] Twenty years ago, on 26 July 1967, diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Malta. This event took place 3 years after Malta had gained its independence.

Since then the Maltese people have achieved considerable success in strengthening their country's political and economic independence. Malta's international prestige has increased. Until recently a bulwark of imperialist forces and a stronghold in the center of the Mediterranean, Malta now makes the greatest contribution it can to creating conditions of security and cooperation in this region and plays an active role in the world arena.

Soviet-Maltese relations are developing successfully. They now have quite solid treaty and legal foundations and can serve as an example of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

Particularly substantial, positive changes have taken place in Soviet-Maltese relations since 1981, when the two sides exchanged memorandums constituting an agreement on the Soviet Union's recognition of and respect and support for Malta's status as a neutral state following a policy of nonalignment. This major political action reinforced Malta's international positions and made it possible to raise relations between the two countries to a qualitatively new level.

The official visit to the USSR by the head of the Maltese Government in December 1984 -- the first in the history of Soviet-Maltese relations -- was a significant event. A Maltese parliamentary delegation visited the Soviet Union for the first time last fall.

The 5-year trade agreement signed in 1981 was the first agreement between the USSR and Malta to create the legal basis for business ties. The 1984-1986 trade protocol boosted their development further. A second trade protocol for the period 1987-1990 was signed in November 1986. The Soviet Union supplies Malta with petroleum and petroleum products, ships, shipping equipment, and cement, while Malta exports consumer goods to the Soviet Union such as sewn and knit clothing, and Soviet ships are repaired in Maltese shipyards. In comparison to 1981, trade has increased more than 10 times and totalled R25.2 million in 1986. An Aeroflot line has been in operation between Moscow and Valletta since spring 1984.

Soviet-Maltese cultural ties have become more active in recent years. Soviet artistes give successful performances in Malta. Cooperation is developing in the field of health and medical science; Maltese students come to study in Soviet VUZ's. The "USSR-Malta" and "Malta-USSR" societies make a considerable contribution to deepening friendly relations between our countries.

The experience of the past 20 years of Soviet-Maltese relations has shown that if there is political will and realism, countries can cooperate fruitfully irrespective of their social systems.

The Nationalist Party government headed by Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami -- it was while this party was in government that diplomatic relations were established -- came to power in May, replacing the Labor Party administration, and has confirmed Malta's desire to strengthen friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of equal partnership, mutual understanding, and cooperation. Relations between Malta and the Soviet Union have recently developed in an exceptionally positive direction, and the government will seek every means to consolidate these good relations, the prime minister has said. The opportunities for this exist.

The Soviet Union is still prepared to cooperate with Malta, as it is with other countries, for the peoples' good and to curb the arms race and strengthen peace and security, including in the Mediterranean. We work on the premise that averting the threat of nuclear catastrophe and achieving a peaceful settlement of international disputes is only possible with the active participation of all states, large and small.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS CUBAN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

PM311001 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kamorin under the rubric "Cuban Report" and headlined: "Havana Is the Venue" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Havana -- Andrey Kamorin, IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Cuba, has begun work in Havana. On the eve of the Cuban people's celebration -- the 34th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks -- we publish his first report from the capital of this fraternal country. [passage omitted]

A solitary island alone in the ocean -- this is how Cuba's enemies would like to see it. The United States still has not relinquished its attempts to blockade the Republic economically and politically. It has long been Washington's dream to blow up the bridges of mutually advantageous cooperation that link the Island of Freedom with other countries -- a long-standing, impracticable dream. This is evinced by the recent restoration of Cuban diplomatic relations with Uruguay and Brazil, the strengthening of the political and business contacts between Cuba and Argentina, and Cuba's increased trade links with Venezuela.

This attitude toward Cuba, an active member of the Nonaligned Movement, is an index of Latin American states' independent foreign policy. Latin American peoples regard Cuba as a kind of showcase of socialism in the Western hemisphere revealing the prospects of development opened up to the people by the new society. This demonstration is not merely a "facade," just for show, it is entirely in earnest and is intended for businesslike contact and the pooling of efforts.

Very many guests on the island, particularly people from developing Asian, African, and Latin American countries, come to see the fruits of the fundamentally new type of international relations about which the Cuban economist Julio Diaz Vasquez wrote: "Cuban cooperation with socialist countries embodies the ideal of equitable, worthy exchange aspired to by developing countries in their stubborn struggle for a new world economic order."

The even ranks of long-stemmed sugar cane squeezed in tightly on both sides of the small railroad station of Limonar on the main line crossing Cuba from east to west. Eng Luis Hurtado told me about Cuban railroad workers' long-standing traditions: This November will see the 150th anniversary of the first railroad line -- not only the first on the island but the first in Latin America. But a difficult situation has materialized here in recent years, he said. The emphasis on developing motor transport has led to stagnation in rail transport development and a drop in the efficiency and precision of rail haulage. As a result, serious problems have developed in Cuba's integrated transport network and the modernization of railroads has become quite essential.

Limonar will be the first station in Cuba equipped with a centralized, semi-automatic traffic control system, Luis Hurtado said. We have to complete this process as soon as possible throughout the Matanzas Province. We are aiming to do this by the time of the opening of the Latin American Railroaders Congress in Havana. Then, without losing momentum, we will proceed to other provinces. Soviet specialists are giving us a great deal of assistance. Here, in Limonar, a control system of Soviet manufacture has been set up with their assistance. Equipment supplies are not the only important thing -- our Soviet friends are generous in sharing their advanced experience with us. We have also built firm ties with science and technology centers in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary.

July saw the 15th anniversary of Cuba becoming a CEMA member. These 15 years have seen a very great deal: We have broken imperialism's economic blockade, created new sectors in the island's national economy, and brought the Republic to the fore in many aspects of science and technology. Cooperation within CEMA is a two-way street. The Republic is involved in 59 of the 93 areas in which work to implement the Integrated Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technological Progress Through the Year 2000 is being done. A most important place is given to the program to create new plants for nickel and cobalt production, extensively modernize and reconstruct enterprises in the sugar industry, and explore the country's geological potential.

Cuba has achieved good results in one of the priority areas of the Integrated Program -- the computerization of the national economy. Computers are now used in literally every sector of the Cuban economy. At the same time, Cuba has begun to export visual display units to the USSR and other CEMA countries. The manufacture of high-quality computer-based medical equipment has been organized. In recent years the range of Cuba's specialization has expanded with the production of alphanumeric keyboards. Samples of these units, which are important components of electronic systems, already have been successfully tested in Poland, Bulgaria, and our country.

The examples of Cuba's truly just, mutually advantageous economic cooperation with fraternal socialist countries cannot fail to attract the attention of peoples in developing countries that are victims of shameless plunder by imperialist multinational corporations. These examples will form the basis of many of the speeches at the Third Latin American and Caribbean Economists Congress to be held in Havana this coming fall. Approximately 1,500 delegates will gather at the Palace of Congresses to discuss the most urgent economic problems affecting Latin American nations' independence, self-respect, and stability. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA ON CUBAN EFFORTS TO STEP UP DISCIPLINE

PM311431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 87 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent P. Bogomolov report: "Following the Course of Moncada. June 26 Is National Rebellion Day in Cuba"]

[Excerpts] Havana -- [Passage omitted] ...It happened on 26 July 1953 in the city of Santiago de Cuba. A handful of patriots headed by the young lawyer Fidel Castro fearlessly attacked the Moncada barracks -- the citadel of the dictator Batista's regime in the east of the country. The outcome of the assault was tragic for most of the revolutionaries who participated in it. But those who survived the unequal fight against the tyranny raised the banner of struggle even higher. Having rocked the country, the Moncada epic finally led the people to the victory of the revolution on 1 January 1959.

In reporting on the eve of 26 July on what has been done in the most important directions in developing industrial and agricultural production, in education, science, and culture, and in defending and augmenting socialist gains, the Cubans are guided by two frames of reference. The first is the almost 30-year history of the creation of the new society and its indisputable achievements.

Indeed, from a backward country with a single-crop economy, Cuba has been transformed into a dynamically developing agrarian-industrial state with a multisectorial national economy, an advanced political system, and firm international positions. Demonstrating the impressive advantages of socialism, the island of freedom secures the highest GNP growth rates in Latin America and sets an example in the development of people's education and the health service.

But there is also another criterion today: How far has the Republic managed to advance along the path of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, which took place last year? In other words, to what extent has the new, more self-critical and considered attitude to current affairs become established in the country and how are the tasks of rectifying the errors and shortcomings revealed by the party forum being resolved?

...Not long before the holiday I visited Olgina and saw for myself the seriousness and weightiness of the processes under way in the country. [passage omitted]

A thorough review of production norms and the system of labor remuneration is now under way throughout the Republic and the struggle against negligence, irresponsibility, bureaucracy, and unearned income has become more acute. An active quest for reserves and the tapping of the socialist system's huge potential -- all this, in our Cuban comrades' opinion, is unthinkable without maintaining revolutionary order and legality and consolidating the moral values of the country's new society. The 500,000-strong party aktiv and the Republic's entire population approve the strict measures taken recently with regard to embezzlers of the people's property, irrespective of their posts.

"Demand less from the center and do more with your own hands" -- this is the slogan constantly heard at local level. The Asanuma Spinning Mill, for example, originated an initiative aimed at saving cotton, which it gets from the USSR. This immediately gave the collective a 2-percent increase in plan fulfillment.

"Although our equipment is 27 years old," Director Jesus Enriquez said, "we could 'squeeze' quite a high output from it."

Here is another facility -- the shipyard in the city of Gibara. The ferrocement schooners so popular among Cuban fishermen are launched from its slipways.

"The plan for the year is to construct 59 ships and repair 115," Urbano Ravel, leader of the collective, disclosed. "This is much more than last year's targets. Certain managers tried to object -- they said they could not produce such an increase in volume. But the response was firm: From now on we are finished with 'objective difficulties.' The attitude toward the customary accusations against partners also is changing. Now we have much more rights with repect to suppliers of raw and other materials. We need only show initiative and not slacken the pace."

The decisions of the party congress also have had a perceptible influence on the collective of the 26 July Agricultural Units Plant, erected with Bulgarian technical assistance.

"True, we still have not recouped the resources invested in the construction of the enterprise," Chief Eng Edael Palomo said. "But we are sparing no efforts in the struggle to step up economic efficiency. An important achievement is that 60 percent of our semifinished products, including steel sections, are now produced in country (and not from abroad). We are working intensively to raise the quality of our output -- cultivators, plows, harrows, trailers, and so on."

At the same time, the Republic is continuing the process of rectifying past errors and eliminating the prevailing negative tendencies. A detailed analysis of the course of this important process was made at the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Plenum, held recently in Havana. It rated positively the results of the work that has been done, but, at the same time, noted that many problems still have not been resolved.

The Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Plenum examined the state of affairs in such economically important spheres as measures to combat the drought that afflicts much of the country. The state of affairs in construction was reviewed: It is proposed to make it more comprehensive and rational. Other important problems also were examined. Speaking at the end of the plenum, Fidel Castro noted the great significance of its results, which confirm that the country is proceeding along the right path.

The Cuban leader said that as the present process shows, political criteria, which the party leadership always has advocated, must be in the forefront of the revolution and in its economic development. Fidel Castro urged that progress be persistently continued in the light of real factors, without permitting a reversion to past stages.

Cuban Communists and all working people on the island of freedom have something to be proud of. However, they must not rest on their laurels -- that is not the sort of atmosphere now prevailing in Cuba. All the labor collectives I visited have developed a quest for additional reserves, as the decisions of the party congress demand. The revolution heralded 34 years ago by the shots outside the Moncada barracks continues.

PRAVDA LINKS U.S. 'ENCROACHMENTS' TO PANAMA UNREST

PM311337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 87 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Zafesov "Commentator's Column": "Pressure From Front and Rear"]

[Text] Alarming news is coming from Panama, the small Latin American state on whose territory the Panama Canal linking the Atlantic and the Pacific is located. The situation there is becoming increasingly tense as a result of the intrigues of internal and external reaction. The legitimate government's existence is under threat.

It seems that Washington, displeased that local reaction is having no success in destabilizing the situation once and for all, is preparing to resort to decisive measures itself. Having failed to secure the replacement of the Panamanian leadership by means of street riots and the so-called "civil disobedience" campaign organized by internal right-wing forces, U.S. strategists have now resorted to their own measures of "influence," too. The U.S. Administration had decided to cease all the financial and military aid to Panama envisaged for fiscal year 1987. And this, by all accounts, is just the beginning. It cannot be ruled out that the same measures also will be taken in fiscal year 1988. In short, real pressure is being combined with blackmail.

What is Washington trying to achieve?

The point is that in accordance with the last Panama Canal treaty, signed by General Torrijos and U.S. President Carter 10 years ago, control over this water artery is to be transferred to Panama in the year 2000. Naturally, in that case the 10,000 U.S. servicemen stationed at U.S. bases will have to leave the canal zone. But this is precisely what the White House does not want.

The Panama Canal is too important a strategic bridgehead to be given up voluntarily by the United States. The existence of a legal document such as the aforementioned treaty does not embarrass it in the least.

Washington already has tried in unofficial ways to secure a "compromise," which was that the United States would give back the Panama Canal 10 years before the time envisaged in the treaty but, in return, would leave its troops and bases there "indefinitely."

The Panamanian Government did not agree to that "compromise." What is the good of handing the canal over to the Panamanians if the Americans will still hold the real power in the zone?

As can be seen from recent reports, the United States has certainly not abandoned its plans. The pressure on Panama from Washington and the antigovernment demonstrations are proceeding in parallel -- which once again suggests the idea of a single center coordinating attacks from the front and the rear.

Little Panama is living through difficult days. Its sovereignty is once again in jeopardy. This is precisely why the country's patriotic forces are pooling efforts to defend it against encroachments by Washington, which, to further its imperialist interests, is prepared to flout both international norms and its own loud declarations about democracy and freedom.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CONGRATULATES PERU'S LARCO COX

PM040855 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Wishing Success"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has sent Guillermo Larco Cox congratulations on his appointment as chairman of the Peruvian Council of Ministers and wished him success in his activities in that important post.

In his reply, G. Larco Cox expressed gratitude for the congratulations and a desire to continue developing mutually advantageous cooperation between the peoples of Peru and the Soviet Union.

MINISTERS APPROVE MEASURES ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS

LD031528 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS -- The USSR Council of Ministers has considered and approved the measures effected by ministries and departments upon the results of the second conference to review the operation of the convention of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction, held in Geneva in September 1986, and a meeting of scientific and technical experts held in keeping with that conference's recommendation in March-April 1987.

The USSR Council of Ministers noted that at those conferences important arrangements were reached on concrete confidence-building measures to enhance the effectiveness of the convention and step up international cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of the biological science.

The USSR Council of Ministers committed competent ministries and departments to take all necessary measures to realize unreservedly and efficiently the afore-mentioned arrangements as regards the exchange of information and data on the activity of research centres and laboratories which have a high level biological protection, and on the outbreaks of epidemics which deviate from the norm, and also to encourage the publication of the results of scientific research and broaden contacts among scientiss in the field of biology.

TOLKUNOV ON RESTRUCTURING, SUPREME SOVIET ROLE

AU031208 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Aug 87 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Krzysztof Mikolajczyk: "The Democratization of Life" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The restructuring and acceleration processes now taking place in the USSR are producing profound qualitative changes in all areas of Soviet society. What is the role of the Soviet parliament in these processes? -- RZECZPOSPOLITA addressed this question to Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Tolkunov] The essence and principal directions of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, and the two chambers' permanent commissions are determined by the strategy of acceleration and restructuring, the further democratization of life, and the development of self-government. The range of issues dealt with by the Supreme Soviet include key problems pertaining to state, economic, and social and cultural developments; problems related to the guidance provided to soviets of people's deputies; ways of increasing the efficiency of the work of these councils; improving Soviet legislation, strengthening law observance and public order; and affording greater protection for civic rights and interests. [passage omitted]

[Mikolajczyk] The Supreme Soviet has always played a special role in the Soviet parliamentary system. Is this tradition still being maintained?

[Tolkunov] Of course. For example, recently the members of the presidium discussed the work of the Leningrad Soviet of Deputies in connection with preparations for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. While stressing the results that have been achieved, they also drew attention to serious shortcomings in the work of Leningrad's inhabitants. [paragraph continues]

Restructuring in Leningrad has not assumed the expected breadth and depth thus far. The city's soviets are not displaying the determination needed to overcome the stagnation that exists in many areas -- in industry, the construction sector, transportation, education, and culture. It was stated that many soviet directors and employees are unable to work under conditions of openness and increasing democracy. According to a Presidium resolution, in order to make the work of soviets more efficient, it is necessary to involve people, employee collectives, and social organizations in solving the problems that exist in all the main areas of their activity. It is impossible to imagine restructuring without this. [passage omitted]

[Mikolajczyk] An important element of the democratization process is improving the electoral system. Important changes in this area are also occurring in the Soviet Union....

[Tolkunov] First of all, we are trying to make our electoral system less formalized. A great many proposed changes have already been approved this year. So, during the 21 June elections to regional soviets not one but several candidates were considered on an experimental basis. This experiment was conducted in elections to 2,340 soviets. These are not the only changes. We believe that the title of deputy is not an addition to a post one already holds; it is not an honorary privilege, it means hard, difficult work. A deputy's personal standing and the effectiveness of his work are directly dependent on the extent to which he is familiar with people's needs and aspirations, the extent to which he listens to their views and shares the life of the people. [passage omitted]

TATAR SPOKESMAN: MOST DEMONSTRATORS SENT HOME

AU031104 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Excerpt] Moscow, Aug 3 (AFP) -- Most of the Tatars who came here in July to support a delegation pressing their demand to return to their Crimean homelands have been forcibly sent back to Central Asia, Soviet dissident Valeriy Senderov said on Monday.

He told AFP that only about 100 Tatars were left in Moscow out of the 1,000 who had gathered here by last Wednesday.

On Monday, a strong police presence was in place in Izmaylovo Park on the outskirts of the city, where the remaining Tatars were expected to meet.

As police also patrolled the platforms of the nearest underground railway station, one uniformed officer said that he had "not seen any Tatars" that morning.

The forced return of the Tatars began on Thursday, when at least 12 of their leaders were put on planes, dissident sources said.

Since then, Western journalists have been banned from going to the Tatars' usual meeting place in the park.

Over the weekend correspondents were unable to contact Tatar leaders in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek republic, where the largest Tatar community in Central Asia lives. [passage omitted]

SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM EXAMINES LEGAL SERVICES

PM311118 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium": "On the Work of the Judicial Organs in the Provision of Legal Services to the Population"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session examined the work of judicial organs in providing legal services to the population.

In the resolution adopted, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that the implementation of the instructions of the 27th party congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums on the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society has in many respects demanded a renewal of the legal basis of state and public life, the all-around strengthening of socialist legality and law and order, and the strengthening of the protection of the individual's rights. This brings to the fore the need for a radical improvement in legal services to the population and an intensification of work to propagandize legislation and educate all Soviet people in the spirit of respect for the law.

The role of the soviets of people's deputies, courts, the bar, notarial organs, and other judicial institutions in providing legal services to the population is great. Tens of millions of people turn to their services to exercise their rights. The guarantees of citizens' rights and the provision of legal assistance are being strengthened. A code of USSR laws has been published, and considerable work is being done to improve the labor, housing, and other sectors of legislation.

At the same time, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that this important work is not yet up to the demands arising from the tasks of restructuring the country's socioeconomic life and developing democracy at the present stage. The USSR Ministry of Justice and its subordinate organs is not sufficiently concerned with questions of giving timely assistance to citizens in the exercise of their labor, housing, and other rights; the authoritative resolution of disputes; and the safeguarding of the constitutional right to defense. Due exactingness is not shown toward leaders of judicial organs for the actual state of affairs and the practical resolution of urgent questions.

The work of the courts to ensure the defense of citizens' rights and legitimate interests is being restructured too slowly, as is indicated by the numerous letters and complaints, which are increasing in quantity. The USSR Ministry of Justice apparatus alone examines more than 25,000 complaints annually, more than half of which relate to the nonexecution of court decisions and red tape in civil and criminal cases. The public makes many complaints about the poor organization of the courts' work. The practice of postponing court sessions without justification is widespread.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium drew the attention of the USSR Ministry of Justice to the citizens' dissatisfaction with legal assistance from legal aid bodies [yuridicheskiye konsultatsii]. Certain lawyers, because of inadequate qualifications, fail to give real assistance and, on various pretexts, decline to fulfill their duties in the protection of citizens' rights. Nor can it be deemed normal that in a number of the country's regions there are no legal aid bodies at all.

The work of notaries' offices and register offices demands greater attention from the ministry and its organs. Their activity also lacks organization and high standards, and shows formalism and an insensitive attitude toward citizens. [paragraph continues]

Many different violations and errors occur in the registration of births, marriages, and other acts of civil status.

The established schedule for the work of judicial institutions is far from always observed, as a result of which citizens have to wait a long time to be received by judges, lawyers, and notaries. In the Kurgan City register office, for instance, documents for the registration of marriage were being accepted only twice a week, which caused waiting lines and led to dissatisfaction among the public.

The substantial shortcomings in legal services to citizens indicate that the USSR Ministry of Justice and its republican and local organs are not showing due exactingness toward cadres, are doing poor work to educate them in a principled and honest spirit, and are not waging a resolute struggle against the bureaucratic, indifferent attitude of certain workers toward the fulfillment of their duties. Sometimes incompetent people who abuse their position and are inclined to extortion are to be found in responsible posts.

A serious hindrance in the proper resolution of citizens' requests and petitions is the fact that many judicial institutions are housed in unsuitable premises and lack the basic conditions for receiving citizens. Things are bad in this respect in a number of oblasts of the Ukraine, in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and the Chuvash ASSR, and in Maritime Kray and Kostroma and Chita Oblasts. However, judicial organs do not show due concern and persistence in resolving these questions and providing modern office equipment for courts and judicial institutions.

The USSR Ministry of Justice together with the union republic Councils of Ministers are instructed to adopt the necessary measures to ensure a radical restructuring of the activity of judicial organs and institutions in the provision of legal services to the population, as well as the reinforcement of these organs with qualified cadres. It is necessary to increase persistently the responsibility of the leaders of these organs for the organization of efficient, high quality, and businesslike work of all courts, collegiums of lawyers, notarial offices, and register organs. It is necessary to eliminate the serious shortcomings in the work of judicial organs in the protection of Soviet people's labor, housing, property, and personal rights. Access for working people to judicial organs and institutions must be ensured everywhere, developing the democratic principles of work. New types and forms of legal assistance which are convenient for citizens should be introduced at enterprises and places of residence.

The attention of the USSR Ministry of Justice was drawn to the need to step up the methodological leadership of legal work at ministries, state committees, and departments, with particular attention to ensuring that the departmental normative acts they issue are in line with existing legislation.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that local soviets and their ispolkoms exert insufficient influence on the work of judicial organs to grant legal assistance to citizens, rarely hear reports from leaders of those organs, and devote insufficient attention to creating suitable conditions for the work of courts, legal aid bodies, notaries' offices, and register offices. Instances occur when individual local soviet ispolkoms themselves deviate from the laws.

In a number of places publicity for new legislative acts is badly organized and there is a shortage of texts of laws and legal literature. The proper contacts do not exist between judicial organs and the mass media. All this makes it more difficult for citizens to resolve questions on the spot, in good time and correctly, and to obtain authoritative explanations.

Certain soviets of people's deputies do not adequately coordinate the work of judicial institutions in the provision of legal services to the population and their collaboration with other law enforcement organs, trade union organizations, and legal inspectorates. The potential of the judicial service in the national economy is being extremely poorly utilized for these purposes.

The union and autonomous republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Councils of Ministers are instructed to ensure the effective activity of all components of the newly elected local soviets to ensure reliable protection of citizens' rights and the strengthening of the leadership and monitoring of the work of organs under their jurisdiction, to increase the accountability and responsibility of cadres for the strict execution of legislation, and to strengthen their ties with labor collectives and the population. In the conditions of a radical restructuring of economic management, the role and responsibility of the judicial service of enterprises, institutions, and organizations in protecting the rights and legitimate interests of workers and employees should be increased.

The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, with the participation of the USSR Ministry of Justice, are instructed to implement additional measures to increase the output of the texts of laws, codes, and commentaries on them, as well as normative, reference, scientific, and popular legal literature.

The editorial offices of the newspaper IZVESTIYA and the journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV must regularly publish articles and advice explaining Soviet citizens' rights and duties and propagandize the best experience of work to grant legal assistance to the population.

REPORTS ON HIGH-LEVEL APPEARANCES 11-29 JUL

Solovyev

LD111418 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jul 87

[Text] The deputies of the Leningrad oblast local soviet have come together with a weighty collection of ideas and proposals for the 1st session of the 20th convocation today. The session scrutinized the tasks for restructuring local soviets. The theses of an oblispolkom report which were published in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA beforehand helped them to prepare for a concrete and businesslike conversation.

Having discussed them at enterprises and meetings of rural residents, those elected by the people expressed from the platform the collective opinions of their electors. Restructuring, the session noted, is increasingly exerting an influence on improving the state of affairs in the localities -- strengthening discipline, improving the moral and ethical atmosphere, as well as activating the human factor. However, the pace of restructuring is not yet sufficient. Manifestations of stagnation are being overcome slowly. The elimination of disruptions in public sector production is slow. For example, in the first 6 months of the year one-fifth of the enterprises in the oblast did not fulfill plans for contracted deliveries.

Many enterprises of the agro-industrial complex are not consistent in their performance. Serious lagging behind has occurred in the construction of housing, in consumer and cultural amenities, as well as in the development of the health service, trade, and consumer services.

The deputies outlined ways of accelerating the social and economic development of the oblast as well as of expanding democracy and openness in the activities of local soviets. It was decided to work out a program for the radical restructuring of economic management.

Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad obkom, took part in the session.

Slyunkov

LD111734 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1408 GMT 11 Jun 87

[From the "Novosti" newcast]

[Text] From the current events of the day, we will give attention to the meeting in Moscow of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, which discussed important tasks of the industry. Gosstroy Chairman Batalin said that the results of the last two quarters indicate that matters are proceeding quite well wherever party, local soviets, and economic bodies showed due responsibility in their approach to guaranteeing the plan assignments.

However, in connection with the transition to the new economic methods, the situation at many construction sites remains tense. Bearing in mind the lagging behind that has been allowed to occur before the end of the year, construction workers will have to accomplish considerably more building and assembly work at sites due for commissioning than in the first 6 months.

Measures have been adopted on the further restructuring of capital construction, in accordance with the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Taking part in the work of the meeting of the committee were Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Melniko, head of the Construction Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Zaykov

LD172233 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jul 87

[Text] Metallurgy is the foundation of the socialist economy. Day and night, on work days and holidays, flames are blazing in blast furnaces. Now when the national economy is undergoing accelerated development, demands for metal are particularly great. To meet these demands, the working people of the industry will have to master new methods of economic management and overcome shortcomings in their work. This was the subject of a discussion among the participants of a ceremonial meeting in Moscow devoted to the day of the metallurgist. The presidium of the meeting comprised Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Yastrebov, head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; front-rankers of socialist competition; and representatives of the Muscovite public. Speeches were made by Comrade Kolpakov, minister of the ferrous metallurgy of the USSR, and Comrade Durassov, minister of the nonferrous metallurgy of the USSR.

Lukyanov

PM281543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS Report: "At the USSR MVD"]

[Text] A USSR MVD Collegium session was held 22 July involving internal affairs ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the chiefs of internal affairs main administrations, the internal affairs administrations of oblispolkoms and gorispolkoms, and USSR MVD political departments.

The collegium discussed internal affairs bodies' tasks in light of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions. The report by A.V. Vlasov, internal affairs minister, and speeches by collegium members noted that in the context of restructuring and intensifying socialist democracy it is essential to strictly observe socialist legality in the work of all services and subdivisions, improve professional expertise, reinforce personnel's political and moral condition, and improve the effectiveness of the fight against crime.

Special attention was drawn to the need to improve the forms and methods of MVD bodies' work in the context of restructuring economic management.

The collegium was addressed by A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. N.I. Savinkin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, A.M. Rekunkov, USSR general prosecutor, F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of law enforcement organs took part in the collegium's work.

Murakhovskiy

LD282148 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 28 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS -- The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee discussed at its session of July 23 urgent measures to be taken to reach the targets set by the June plenum which deal with a better fulfillment of the Food Program. Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, told TASS about those measures.

The urgent measures are connected, in the first place, with further raising the interest and developing the initiative of collective and state farms, as well as the population in general, in increasing the output and marketing of farm produce, he emphasized.

Since collective and state farms were given greater independence and were transferred to full-cost-accounting and self-financing, a special role is assigned to the activities of local bodies of power and agricultural organizations, to an effective stimulation of a moral and material interest of labour collectives, of all the rural dwellers, in increasing agricultural output. All the conditions have been created for it.

Collective and state farms can choose at their own discretion progressive forms of the organization of work and payment for it, as well as intensive technologies of plant-growing and lifestock-breeding. It is important to use to the full all the reserves possessed by the agro-industrial complex.

Quotas for the livestock owned by farmers, as well as maximum dimensions of individual plots of land, set several decades ago will be reviewed.

Measures have been envisaged for rendering all-round assistance to rural dwellers by collective and state farms in managing their alloted personal holdings. These include the apportioning to them of young stock and poultry, the assigning of grazing lands to them, assistance in the construction and repair of premises and the providing of transport facilities.

Numerous measures have been envisaged for improving material and technical supply of those collective and state farms, for building apartment houses and roads there.

Ryzhkov

LD282158 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] During his stay on 27-28 July in Krasnodar Kray, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited a number of farms and enterprises and inquired into the progress in the practical implementation of the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committtee.

The USSR Council of Ministers chairman visited the shop of the (Kooperator Kubani) consumer cooperative in Krasnodar, a dairy complex with progressive technology for the upkeep of cows at the Pobeda kolkhoz in Kanevskiy Rayon, the treatment and sanitary complex at the Rossiya kolkhoz, and social and cultural facilities at the Krasnoarmeyskiy livestock sovkhoz in Krasnoarmeyskiy [as heard] Rayon.

He went to see the Sergeyev family section, which has taken out a contract to grow sunflowers at the Pamyat Lenina kolkhoz and became acquainted with the progress in the construction of a modern township [zhiloy gorodok] in the fruit sovkhoz Sadovod of the Kuban Agro-Industrial Complex. In the fields of Kalinin kolkhoz in Kanevskiy Rayon and of the All-Union Scientific Rice Research Institute new combines were examined, which are intended for the harvesting of grain crops grown using intensive technology, as were examples of technology for the stationary threshing of agricultural crops. Together with Comrade (Bochkar), a front-ranking machine operator from the kolkhoz, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov had a look round the cabin of the Don Rotor combine and inquired into the speed and quality of the threshing, and the reliability of the new machine.

In his conversations with scientists, experts, and machine operators, the talk was of the output of various modifications of the Don combine for the harvesting of all grain crops and crops requiring tilling between rows. Particular stress was laid on the need for the rapid introduction of universal and more powerful threshing units and rice picking combines.

Great attention was devoted to increasing the production, and raising the quality of rice, and the expanding the assortment of products made from it. Issues relating to the organization of the material and technical base of seed growing were examined, and also of the production of seeds on a scientific and technological basis.

At the enterprises of the Kuban agro-industrial combine the progress in fulfilling the Food Program was discussed, as was improving the supply to the population of foodstuffs.

In his trip around Krasnodar Kray, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov was accompanied by Comrade Polozkov, first secretary of the Kray party committee, and Comrade (Kondratenko), chairman of the kray ispolkom.

Zaykov, Nikonov, Murakhovskiy

LD292217 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 29 Jul 87

[Text] The widespread introduction of high capacity equipment and fundamentally new technology into the country's agro-industrial complex places strong demands to provide all branches with effective instruments and control and measuring devices. An exhibition organized by the department of mechanization and electrification of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom] -- held at the scientific research institute of information and technical and economic research into engineering and technical provision of the Gosagroprom -- shows what has been done and what is planned in this sphere.

At collective and state agro-industrial farms, enterprises, and scientific establishments, in keeping with the technology requirements, more than 10,000 parameters are now subject to measurement, for which about 800 types of instruments are necessary. However, they are being produced at a rate several times below demand. Almost 250 types of instruments must still be developed. The quality of the metrological equipment supplied to the agro-industrial complex must also be enhanced. Certain types are inferior to today's foreign equivalents, both in terms of efficiency and ergonomics.

The exhibition provides an opportunity to carry out a full analysis of the need for and availability of control devices in the agro-industrial complex and to determine the main directions for further improving and developing instruments.

Comrades Zaykov, Nikonov, Murakhovskiy and other comrades acquainted themselves with the exhibition.

HEAVY INDUSTRY DEPUTY CHIEF ATTENDS SARATOV OBKOM PLENUM

PM301545 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At Party Committee Plenums. Effective Party Backup for Restructuring"]

[Text] Saratov, 25 Jul -- Participants in a Saratov CPSU Obkom Plenum, discussing the tasks for the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, concentrated their main attention on unresolved problems in the radical restructuring of economic management. While noting certain positive changes, the speakers mentioned that the standard of party leadership of the oblast's socioeconomic development still does not fully conform with the increased demands, and the process of restructuring in the national economy sphere has not gained stability. This resulted in the 6-month plan for the sale of industrial output being fulfilled by 99.9 percent, but by only 97.2 percent in terms of contracted deliveries.

The plenum formulated measures to reinforce party influence on key areas of economic activity.

V.V. Marin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department, took part in the plenum's work.

ALL-UNION JOURNALISTS MEET ON RESTRUCTURING

PM290837 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Jul 87 p 2

[TASS report: "All-Union News Conference"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Journalists and the [Moscow] city journalist organization held an all-union news conference "Restructuring of the Country's Economic Management in Light of the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum and the Role of the Mass Media." Workers of the central press, radio, and television, the capital's newspapers and journals, and mass media workers from the union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts took part in it.

Yu.P. Boyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, spoke about the shortcomings -- and ways to overcome them -- in the material and technical supply of the country's enterprises. He noted that the task of the new, recently elaborated system of activity for the Gossnab and its territorial organizations will be that of countering expenditure [protivozatratnost], resource saving, and wholesale trade. The fulfillment of this task is firmly bound up with the financial and credit and price-formation mechanisms. But the transfer to economic accountability [khozraschet] is the key factor in stepping up Gossnab organs' responsibility for the end product of their work.

L.A. Bibin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, enumerated for the journalists dozens of construction organizations whose work experience in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing must today become everyone's property with the help of the mass media, for this will help them avoid numerous mistakes. B.N. Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, made a profound analysis of the influence of economic levers on the efficiency of each working person's work and on the improvement of the quality of enterprise output. In his speech he gave a detailed account of the continuing improvement of labor organization and labor compensation in production sectors.

Specialists who spoke at the news conference told journalists about the modern policy of price formation for industrial output designated for production and technical use, and about new ways to accelerate scientific and technical progress and improve the management of the country's agro-industrial complex, and raise the efficiency of agricultural production and crop storage.

The instruction for the country's journalists continued for 2 days. The all-union news conference finished its work 22 July.

PRAVDA REPORTS AZERBAIJAN CC PLENUM

PM301401 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov report under the rubric "Communists Discuss the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum: "To New Positions"]

[Text] Baku -- Restructuring has taken its first steps in Azerbaijan. The democratization process is deepening, glasnost and criticism and self-criticism are expanding, and there have been marked positive changes in the selection and placement of cadres. There are certain practical results already. In the first 6 months industrial output increased by 4.3 percent compared with the same period last year and the plan target for improving labor productivity was exceeded. [paragraph continues]

There were advances in the agro-industrial sector and social and cultural spheres.

But the report by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K.M. Bagirov and speeches by the participants in the republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum were chary and laconic on the matter of achievements. Attention was focused on critical analysis, on the quest for ways of accomplishing the big tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum to radically restructure economic management.

It is too early to talk about a radical breakthrough, it was noted. The process of transformations has not yet affected the deep strata of the republic's national economy. The keynote report and the speeches by N. Mustafayev nd B. Kevorkov, first secretaries of Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh party obkoms, N. Abdurakhmanov, first secretary of Zakatalskiy party raykom, M. Kozhevnikova, chairman of the Ilich Kolkhoz in Shemakhinskiy Rayon, and others named many untapped reserves.

There has been a chronic failure to ensure fulfillment of contract pledges by over 130 enterprises -- around one-fourth of the total number. Many enterprises in the Ministry of the Petroleum and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, and the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry failed to fulfill their 6-month plans. And nonfulfillment of contract pledges in the new conditions will have a particularly adverse effect on the activity of labor collectives and on the situation in the economy as a whole.

The plenum participants were particularly concerned about the fact that feeble efforts are still being made to tackle the problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress. The "Intensification-90" and "Metals Intensiveness" program have been approved, the "Quality" program has been fully elaborated, but the work being done on it is intolerably slow. Can we tolerate the fact today that in the last 6 months the plan for the introduction of new equipment and technology and the assimilation of new types of industrial products was fulfilled by only 44 percent and the targets for the main indicators of the technical standard of production by 73 percent? The output quality situation is no better. In the past 5 years 18 machine building items have forfeited the State Seal of Quality, and nearly one-half of the sector's products fall short of world standards. The republic's Gosplan and Academy of Sciences must address these matters, the plenum stated.

Some leaders have learned properly only one thing from the extensive renewal program: Restructuring is a long-term process, so they are taking it slowly, working in the old way. For example, restructuring is making little headway at the Azerbaijan SSR Main Administration of Power and Electrification, although it is common knowledge how important energy supplies are, particularly when industry is switching to a multishift system. There are frequent breakdowns, technological and production discipline is poor, and above-plan losses are great.

This approach is impermissible. The party was quite unequivocal about it: There must be no discrepancy between words and actions. The need to increase cadres' responsibility was mentioned by L. Sokolov, secretary of Baku party gorkom, D. Dzhamalova, first secretary of Lenkoran party gorkom, and G. Arutyunov, lathe operator at the "Promsvyaz" plant in Kirovabad.

There was a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the agro-industrial complex, whose dynamic development is being inhibited by the tardy adjustment of the new economic mechanism. The sector is still doing a poor job of introducing full economic accountability, self-recoupment, and self-financing, and team and family contracts. This explains why 14 percent of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes showed a loss last year.

Meanwhile, there are examples of successful management. Neftechalinskiy Rayon, for example, which, after introducng economic accountability, within just 1 year increased meat production by 50 percent, egg production by 130 percent, and average milk yield by 61 kg. Family teams on the 16th Party Congress Sovkhoz in Shamkhorskiy Rayon obtained 203 quintals of early potatoes each from every hectare of the areas assigned them. Clear profit exceeded R380,000, and profitability was 105 percent. In 100 republic farms the first steps have been taken in the switch to the check-based accounting system, and the results are encouraging: Outlay per unit of output has been sharply reduced, people are turning down extra equipment and they are saving fuel. The best experience should be more quickly introduced in a joint effort, said T. Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, A. Asadov, first secretary of Shamkhorskiy Party Raykom, and Kh. Abbasova, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Agdamskiy Rayon.

The plenum made serious complaints against the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, which has still not become the real headquarters for the sector. Errors in cadre policy, instances of red tape and excessive paperwork, and adherence to the administrative and bureaucratic style of work are tolerated here. It was proposed that the leadership of the State Agro-Industrial Committee resolutely restructure its activity in the spirit of the requirements of the time.

Sluggishness and stagnation are definitely not permissible in the living creative process of restructuring. This particularly relates to the solution of such an important problem as accommodation. The criticism the republic was subjected to at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum for poor utilization of house building capacities exploited only to 65-70 percent of their potential was recognized by the participants in the Baku plenum as timely and fair. And this at a time when there are 113,000 families on the housing list in the cities and rayon centers. The average living area per person in the republic is signficantly lower than the average for the country; there are insufficient schools, kindergartens, and facilities for health care, culture, trade, and consumer services.

What practical measures must be taken in the immediate future? First -- effective use of the great potential accumulated in construction, and bringing the house building combine up to design capacity. Much attention should also be given to individual housing construction, increasing the production of local building materials, and setting up a brick manufacturing shop in each rayon. All these and other measures must be subordinated to one aim -- ensuring a separate apartment or house for each family by the year 2000.

Fuller satisfaction of the demand for consumer goods and a signficant improvement in trade, consumer services, and public catering must, in the opinion of the pleunum participants, be the most important result of restructuring. The cooperatives set up should be utilized more broadly in these spheres, and new ones organized; and people should be given more opportunities to engage in individual labor activity. Only 4,500 people in the republic are involved in it today -- clearly this is not enough.

Those who spoke at the plenum evaluated what happened within the walls of the Azerbaijan Institute of the National Economy as an extraordingary event. The outrageous scandals -- nepotism, favoritism, and self-seeking actions -- which flourished within the teaching collective led to the breakdown of the entire educational process. The situation in this VUZ was examined more than once at meetings of the Central Committee Bureau; its rector, Z. Alikberov, was released from his post and other institute leaders received severe party penalties. But the necessary conclusions were not drawn, which brought about the complete distintegration of work in the institute.

This was reflected in the materials of investigations carried out by the USSR Committee of People's Control and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and in a PRAVDA article. A number of people responsible for the state of affairs in the VUZ were punished according to their desserts. The cleansing operation is continuing.

"We, the leaders of the republic's VUZes," I. Ibragimov, rector of the Azerbaijan Azibekov Institute of Petroleum and Chemistry, said in his speech, "share the responsibility for what has happened and must learn a serious lesson from this, and raise the organization of higher education to the necessary level."

The first stage in the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the republic has already begun. It is important to conduct this work more efficiently and more deeply, it was said at the plenum. The primary party organizations have a particularly big role to play at enterprises and in the management sphere.

Every person today, it was noted from the platform, must clearly recognize his place in the renewal process in order to work with even greater persistence and to meet the 70th anniversary of Great October with a worthy contribution to restructuring.

PRAVDA REPORTS GEORGIAN CC PLENUM

PM311011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[Undated report by correspondent G. Lebanidze on Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum under general headline: "Renewal Is Asserted Through Actions"]

[Text] Tbilisi -- The report delivered by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches delivered by those taking part in the Central Committee plenum of the republic's Communist Party had as their leitmotif the idea that the pace of changes taking place is unsatisfactory. Yet time does not wait. We must free the economy more rapidly of the brakes and the fetters encircling it. We must make broader use of the common law principle that "everything not banned by law is permitted."

The speakers spoke of how slowly and creakily already approved innovations are being introduced. For instance, the Poti experiment to create a territorial-sectorial association and to transer the entire city to the self-financing of its economic and social development. The experiment at the Tbilisi bentwood furniture combine was also promising. A model for an economic mechanism has been created here using the residue [ostatochnyy] method of forming revenues and the wages fund. This has helped to establish the stable fulfillment of contract commitments and the profit plan, enabling an increase in monthly wages by just over 18 percent.

The venture to create comprehensive economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] teams at the Tbilisi passenger transport association is interesting. Here, without additional expenditure, revenue on experimental itineraries has been increased 50 percent, average wages have been substantially raised, and transport services have been successfully improved. The Gagra Groispolkom financially accountable [khozraschetnoye] association which provides services for people who arrive without travel vouchers has given a good account of itself: In the past 2 years over 400,000 people have used its services. Last year alone about R1 million over and above the plan entered the city budget from this source. The association intends to expand its activity and to diversify its services, including on a cooperative basis.

In Sustavi an economically accountable trade administration has appeared whose experience has met with a positive assessment but which, unfortunately, is being only poorly disseminated. Work is being developed only slowly in the republic on individual labor activity and the creation of cooperatives. Frequently local organs put totally unjustified obstacles in their way.

The speakers voiced grave concern over the state of affairs in industry. In a number of sectors production growth rates have been reduced, contract deliveries are not being met, and labor productivity is growing more slowly than for the country as a whole.

G. Metonidze, team leader at the "Elektrovozostroitel" asscciation, gave the following example. In the 10 days before the end of the month the leadership set the task of assembling 15 electric locomotives. That is considerably more than the month's program. Yet prior to that the assemblymen had stood virtually idle for 20 days and had worked only sporadically. The crash program was the result of the irresponsible attitude displayed toward their obligations by the subcontractors -- the collectives of the Novocherkassk electric locomotive plant and the Mingechaur cable plant and their suppliers and the workers of a number of the association's subdivisions.

The scientific and technical progress plan is being regularly disrupted in the republic. The Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the "Gruzugol," the "Elva" and "Azot" associations, and others are failing to fulfill the program for reducing manual labor. Machine building output is being updated extremely slowly.

Much was said at the plenum about the need to increase exactingness toward violations of labor and manufacturing discipline and slipshod workers. It is time to understand, the speakers noted, that without proper order and discipline no economic levers can operate. The increase in losses of work time is alarming. In construction, for instance, they have risen just over 50 percent. In brief, it was no accident that Georgia had a profit shortfall of over R330 million last year. The Ministry of Light Industry, which works only under conditions of self-capitalization and self-financing, was responsible for a profit shortfall of over R12 million in the first 5 months of this year. Yet there is positive experience in the system, it is merely necessary to expand it.

For many people accustomed to working in the old-fashioned way the very word "self-financing" induces timidity. The plenum voiced serious complaints against the party committee and administration of the "Kutaisskiy avtomobilnyy zavod" association which for a long time has been tolerating the presence of an insufficiently competent man as chief economist, which is resulting in big losses.

The work of the Transcaucasus railroad and its chief Z. Papava was sharply criticized. The railroad is failing to fulfill a single plan indicator although the question of its activity has frequently been discussed at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. Conclusions, however, were not drawn from the criticism. That is why the plenum demanded that the republic's leading organs carefully investigate the situation and take steps to radically improve matters on the railroad.

In the speakers' opinion we cannot reassure ourselves with the thought that the 6-month plan has been fulfilled for the production of consumer goods. Unfortunately, it reflected only gross indicators, not qualitative ones. The sector's large-scale reserves are borne out by the fact that every fourth enterprise does not produce these goods at all. Local industry enterprises could make a more substantial contribution to this matter.

As was to be expected, the attention of many speeches focused on the agro-industrial complex. Undesirable tendencies have appeared here and the flow of paper is mounting. The plenum drew the attention of the State Agro-Industrial Committee leadership to the need to improve the style of work and supported the idea of reducing the management apparatus. More attention should be paid to the development of private auxiliary farms and horticultural partnerships, the speakers said. Last year only 1,500 allotments were allocated instead of 10,000 and this year the figure was just 330.

The plenum conducted a principled discussion of the activity of law enforcement organs. They are struggling only feebly against speculation, embezzlements, and fraud, and against those who poison the moral atmosphere in society. Cases were cited where the employees of these organs had themselves become accomplices to crimes.

Is every party organization ready to act in the spirit of the times and actively influence the restructuring process? This question perturbed the majority of those taking part in the plenum. An analysis of the party committees' activity showed that there are major shortcomings here. Many party workers are operating with obsolete, stereotyped methods of leadership. Their unsuitable style must be eradicated more rapidly.

In the resolution adopted, the plenum expressed the certainty that the Communists and all working people of the republic will mark the 70th anniversary of Great October with impressive actions.

RSFSR HISTORY CONSERVATIONISTS CONCLUDE CONGRESS

PM131105 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jul 87 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Preserved for the People"]

[Text] Gorkiy -- The problems of preserving the historical heritage were discussed by the delegates to the fifth congress of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments which ended work in Gorkiy yesterday.

Expanding propaganda about the society's work at local level and involving broad strata of the population more actively in it -- these were the tasks that the congress set its primary organizations, of which there are 113,000 in the republic.

A photographic exhibition entitled "Monuments of the Fatherland" and an exhibition of works for sale by RSFSR artists were mounted within the congress framework in the city on the Volga.

The first plenum of the society's Central Council has been held. Ye.M. Chekhrin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, was elected presidium chairman.

Taking part in the congress' work was Ye.V. Zaytsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department.

PRAVDA REPORTS DETAILS OF NEWFOUND LENIN LETTER

PM301105 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 July carries in its First Edition on page 1 under the rubric "We Report Details" and the headline "A New V.I. Lenin Document" a half-page feature on an unpublished letter written by Lenin to K.A. Kuligowski, a Polish technician working on the construction of the Mga-Volkhov-Rybinsk railroad in 1919. The letter reads:

"I have received your letter. I cannot summon you personally. I do not doubt that there are cases of abuses and outrages by people who have 'latched onto' Communists. We are trying to combat this in every way; however, sabotage by almost the entire bourgeois intelligentsia is making our struggle very difficult. Why not gather the relevant facts and send them to me (by registered letter or with someone traveling this way), having thoroughly checked, thought out, and prepared the information, so that I can order an investigation, inspection, or whatever? It seems to me that this would be the most practical solution.

"Signed V. Ulyanov (Lenin)"

This is followed by comment attributed to the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxim-Leninism explaining the background to the letter and its relevance to restructuring. The comment reads:

"This letter from V.I. Lenin addressed to Kazimierz Aleksandrowicz Kuligowski is being published for the first time.

"It is a reply to a letter from K.A. Kuligowski, dated 5 August 1919, in which he asks Lenin to summon him to Moscow so that he can report to him the violations of revolutionary legality and abuses on the part of representatives of the local authorities and the construction management, and so that he can describe to him the state of affairs in the village 'in the true light, without embellishments.' The young technician, who was not a member of the party, wrote that he was turning to Lenin 'not in the expectation of gaining some kind of advantages for himself,' but because he feared that Soviet power and the great liberating idea which was proclaimed by the revolution might be discredited 'through the fault of those who should be the bearers of this idea, its defenders and champions.'

"This new Lenin document reveals in condensed form the causes of the abuses and other negative phenomena in the work of the party and soviet apparatus of that time and emphasizes the need for a businesslike, practical approach to combatting them. The letter provides additional evidence of Vladimir Ilich's closest links with the masses and is a vivid example of the Leninist style of work, and of a truly party-minded approach to the opinion of an ordinary worker who has turned to the Council of People's Commissars.

"Waging an acute, uncompromising struggle today against the phenomena of stagnation and negative influences in the style and methods of party, and leading party and state organs' work, the CPSU is constantly drawing on the ideas, experience, and example of Lenin. The ideas expressed by Vladimir Ilich in his letter to K.A. Kuligowski have lost none of their topicality.

"The published letter will be kept at the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute Central Party Archives. The priceless autograph is a gift from Wlodzimierz Kuligowski, a Polish citizen and son of the man who wrote to Lenin."

The feature includes a letter of thanks from M.S. Gorbachev to W. Kuligowski which reads:

"Esteemed Comrade Wlodzimierz Kuligowski!

"Accept my profound gratitude for giving the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Lenin's letter which was so carefully preserved by your family for almost 70 years."

"For us, the Soviet people, anything connected with Vladimir Ilich Lenin's name, any small fragment of his legacy, is invaluable.

"Wishing you good health,
"M. Gorbachev.
"Dated: 24 June 1987"

Under the headline "Letters From 1919," the feature also contains a 1,000-word article by Yu. Amiantov, member of the scientific staff at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism which traces the history of the Kuligowski family and the background to the two letters exchanged between Lenin and A.K. Kuligowski. Analyzing Lenin's letter, the author writes in part:

"Vladimir Ilich also explains the reasons for the emergence of abuses and other negative phenomena and tendencies. This was above all sabotage by the bourgeois intelligentsia and the specialists whom it was difficult to get involved in work. As distinct from most of the leaders whom the revolution and brought to the fore, they had the knowledge and the experience of leadership. Apart from this, Lenin describes the people who had 'latched onto' Communists as the culprits of the 'abuses and outrages.' Indeed, in the middle of 1919 the infiltration of the party and the party and state apparatus (especially at the grassroots level) with elements that were either alien to the revolution or unstable in ideological, political, or moral respects, elements which, according to Lenin's definition were the product of the decay of the old social system, began to manifest itself negatively.

"Lenin regarded radical socialist transformations in the country, a cultural revolution, the idelogical and political consolidation of the party and its influence in all components of leadership, the decisive democratization of management, the day-to-day application of glasnost, and open criticism of shortcomings at meetings and in the press as a way to overcome bureaucracy, abuses, and other negative phenomena. And Lenin invites his young correspondent to play a businesslike, practical part in this work.

"Today too, the party, using Leninist methods in the struggle against the militant exponents of selfish, egoistic interests, is acting according to Lenin's advice. This is precisely the reason why the new Lenin document -- V.I. Lenin's letter to construction technician K.A. Kuligowski -- written 68 years ago, is so relevent to the processes of restructuring which are under way in our country."

DANGERS OF ABUSE OF GLASNOST ILLUSTRATED

PM291517 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jul 87 First Edition p 1

[Valentin Lyashenko article under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Putting a Question Point-Blank"]

[Excerpts] Do you not think that the short and dynamic statement -- "I put the question point-blank" -- contains a certain undeniable charm? Behind it we see the inspired face, the energetic gesture, and the determined look of the person asking the question. And then, of course, there are the decisive words about the most burning issues of the day, the simple plain truth which people have always needed and which is today increasingly triumphing in our lives.

In short, putting questions point-blank is a very good thing. It is so good that I want to, without delay, quote you a passage from a letter sent in by S.M. Fufachev from Gorkiy:

"I am 62, yet I never dreamed that I would live to see a party meeting like the one held in our workshop after the June plenum. I know them well, our silent guys; they could not care less about anything, but, boy, did they talk on that occasion. I looked at the plant director; he was very, very uncomfortable. And they gave it to him, again and again. And everything to the point."

And here are quotes from other letters:

"After being taken to task, the head of our laboratory was rushed away with a major heart attack." (S. Yudin, Leningrad)

"I got up and gave it to him straight between the eyes, in front of everyone; one of us would have to go. And I did call him a thief. Maybe I went too far...." (T. Umanskiy, Sverdlovsk)

But there is also another letter I would like to quote straight away:

"Do you not think, dear comrades, that it is precisely the excessive criticism and mindless attacks on leaders under the guise of glasnost which may seriously compromise restructuring? Loudmouths and loafers, people who like to fish in muddy waters are taking the floor ever more frequently and with increasing audacity. Given any trifle, any omission, they demand immediate organizational decisions. They abuse everyone and everything. Go on, they say, a little more, we will sort it all out. Just try to demand work from them after that; they will present this as revenge for criticism and again they will shout louder then anyone else. After all, we now have 'glasnost'!" (N.I. Mironov, engineer, Nizhniy Tagil).

The perspicacious reader will have guessed, of course, that what I am getting at is the ability to ask a question. How it can and should be put, and how it had better not be raised at all. How once something has been said, it cannot be unsaid. Although silence in our time, especially when based on considerations along the lines of "I am all right, Buddy," is by no means golden. It has to be remembered that words can be mortally wounding. And also that, despite causing pain, words can have a healing effect.

It is difficult to disagree with the author of one of the cited letters: Restructuring and the inalienable principles of glasnost and democratism which accompany it can easily be compromised by irresponsible rhetoric of the foolhardy, destructive type. Our mail clearly indicates that such a danger exists. There are indeed loudmouths who are exploiting the present situation. What are their motives? Not the interests of the cause, the course, nor commitment, nor a search for the moment of truth. Some are trying to settle personal accounts, some are moved by anger because they think they have been wronged, while others are acting out of malice pure and simple, some are seeking to gain a reputation, to make a name for themselves as fighters for the truth or to score points, while yet others are holding forth for the pleasure of it, to shine, to entertain themselves and their friends, to create a spectacle. [passage omitted]

Yet putting questions point-blank is necessary and it has to be done. Our time, a historic, crucial time, requires it. After all, what would restructuring be without the necessary radical approach, without a revolutionary spirit, without decisive action? Our readers' letters indicate that raising acute questions in a principled fashion is today no longer a demonstration of personal civic courage on the part of isolated individuals but a kind of inner need of thousands upon thousands of people. A kind of thirst for oxygen.

"It is surprising," L. Vaynberg, a history teacher from Kamyshin, writes, "how quickly people when they are placed in human conditions and get a taste for the triumph of truth change their position from that of eternal silence and from the role of onlookers to that of citizens taking a vital interest in the fate of restructuring, that of fighters."

Maybe the language used is somewhat high flown, but you will agree with the winning faith in the ability of every citizen to switch today, right now, without delay to a position of social activeness. Yet, is this switch really taking place so quickly? Indeed, we know, we see, and we feel that the country and its people have awakened. But we also know something else -- so far it is only an awakening. It is the very dawn of our restructuring which has still not drawn itself up to its full height. The fetters which are pulling it back are still heavy. But we will all also know that the main thing, the main question of restructuring has been raised, it has been put point-blank: Either... or... Either the notorius "braking mechanism" will gain the upper hand, or its fetters will be resolutely cast off in the name of socialism. It will be either the slow evolution of economic and social renewal -- which means the same old stagnation -- or resolute, revolutionary restructuring of the socioeconomic system.

We all favor resoluteness. But by no means mindless resoluteness. But it is unquestionably true that the danger of excessive confidence in an easy victory, the position of some kind of pseudorevolutionary leftism also exists. Here is a passage from a letter clearly based on an ambition "to put the question point-blank."

"Nothing will come of restructuring unless you (note the pronoun 'you' -- V.L.) dare to throw the economy into the interim unpredictable chaos of market relations. If we are going to go in for economic management, let us go whole hog. Let us buy and sell everything from a needle to a walking excavator, from a market stall to a gigantic plant. Let unprofitable enterprises go bankrupt and be closed down. Let there be unemployed -- an unemployment benefit fund could be set up with contributions from enterprise profits. Let us not be afraid of chaos -- it has a healing effect. True, there will be the poor, and there will be the rich. There will even be the nouveaux riches... You want to have it both ways, right? You want to have your cake and eat it too. Well, you cannot!" (Novosibirsk, the signature is illegible, but it is obvious from the letter that the author is an economist).

One would like to believe that the maximalism which he advocates is dictated by good intentions. Nonetheless, as I see it, this is precisely an example of the irresponsible formulation of the issue. Throw into chaos... Unemployment benefit... Does it not seem to you that what the author is proposing here is not an economic experiment but an experiment on people?

Mankind has had to -- and is still having to -- pay a high price for such outwardly attractive phrases as "The die is cast," "The Rubicon has been crossed," or "Winner takes all..." Social inertia and the philosophy of "not sticking one's neck out" or "lying low and waiting for better times to come" is costing it just as much.

There have always been and there always will be questions which demand radical solutions. These can be global questions, just like the question of saving Lake Baykal, for instance, or the project to divert the flow the northern rivers which was attacked on such an extensive scale. And they can be outwardly insignificant, all but partial, concerning a small circle of people or even individuals. But they are all important if they require a principled solution, if they appeal to our civic conscience and our civic courage.

PRAVDA EDITORIALIZES ON ROLE OF DEMOCRATIZATION

PM291321 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "School of Democracy: Everyone Is Passing Through That School Now"]

[Text] The people are the decisive force of history. During October 1917 their revolutionary creativity paved the way to the new world. That creativity is also the life-giving source which constantly nurtures socialism and gives it its strength and invincibility.

Our entire experience shows that the harder, the greater, and more responsible the goals that we face, the more important the active participation of the masses in attaining them becomes. This is doubly and triply important today in the conditions of restructuring, which we rightly compare with the revolution in terms of the scale of the actions undertaken and their innovation. Really arouse man, use his rich political, cultural, and scientific potential accumulated during the years of Soviet power, and create a broad front for mounting an offensive in all the areas of economic building and the democratization of society -- that is the point of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum's decisions.

Man only really works according to his abilities when he feels that he is the master and creator. The master and not merely a guest in his own socialist home. A creator, not merely a person who mechanically carries out someone else's albeit correct instructions. Socialist society seeks via democracy and restructuring to involve man in economic and social processes, to make him the true master, and to ensure that the interests of the state and the individual himself and of the labor collective are correctly combined. That is the aim of the radical economic reform of planning and management adopted by the plenum. The most important thing is to give collectives and individual workers broad scope to make use of society's assets and to increase their responsibility for using it efficiently and to ensure the broadest participation of the masses in the management of the national economy at all levels.

The development of the principles of self-management in the production sphere is closely bound up with the line of further democratizing all of society's life. The new laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet session; the elective nature of leaders; the opportunity afforded to voters to express their opinion on a larger number of candidates; the work of officials in an atmosphere of glasnost, accountability, monitoring from below; the development of criticism; and the provision of information to people on all the questions that interest them -- all this creates favorable conditions for increasing civic activeness and the responsibility of the individual.

But the creation of those conditions does not mean that the democratic process will develop automatically. It must be given a sound legal basis. A determined day by day struggle is needed against outmoded stereotypes and, in particular, against bureaucracy -- the very antithesis of democracy. Life shows that even the most productive idea can be distorted and bureaucratized. The editorial mailbag includes letters written by people who say, for example, that elections of leaders are being turned into an overorganized campaign. This is what happens when elections are not preceded by extensive explanatory work and when they are conducted in a stereotyped way without taking account of the specific conditions of a given collective. And instead of the anticipated upsurge of social activeness the result is skepticism and a lack of faith in a sound venture. Democratization is all the more successful when party committees show an innovative and creative approach, have their finger on the pulse of public opinion all the time, and measure their decisions and actions against it.

We are being trained in the school of democracy, studying determinedly and persistently, and not putting this work off until tomorrow. Not everyone passes the test of democracy. For some people glasnost is difficult to achieve, some do not like criticism or press comment, and some have simply become accustomed to believing their opinion alone is "infallible." Attempts are also made to try to use democracy to achieve ambitions, to settle old scores, or to elect a "convenient" and undemanding leader. All these are, so to speak, growing pains, the pains of a transitional period. The most effective means of treating them is to maintain and reinforce the atmosphere of openness, glasnost, and criticism. Democracy puts everything in its proper place -- it makes clear just who people are and what ability they have.

Now when the main strategic questions have been resolved, the most crucial stage begins -- the stage of implementing what has been planned, of enshrining the political, moral, and economic preconditions of democracy and restructuring in the lasting forms of daily responsibility and discipline. Without discipline democracy is inconceivable and merely marks time. To use V.I. Lenin's words, we must "learn how to combine the tumultuous raging spring floods, bursting their banks, the democratic spirit of rallies of the working masses, with iron discipline in work and unconditional obedience -- to the will of one man, the Soviet leader -- in work." It is possible and necessary to debate and collectively discuss the most diverse questions. But when a decision has been made it must be carried out -- unswervingly, fully, and promptly. This is also democracy and it, too, must be learned.

Working in the conditions of democracy means acting energetically and moving forward purposefully without fear of mistakes. It means criticizing omissions and shortcomings as well as supporting what is progressive and constructive and seeking out reserves and new forms of increasingly broad involvement of the people and millions of working people in the affairs of society and the state. It means asserting and defending our historic gains -- social justice and the friendship of the peoples -- and strengthening socialism and the spirit of our man, morality, and the moral atmosphere. We need a democracy which does not divide society but which unites it and works to consolidate its intellectual forces.

The role of the mass media increases sharply under conditions of the expansion of democracy. There is also an increase in the responsibility which it bears for every word spoken or published. It is necessary to bear in mind that any mistake or inaccuracy works against the process of democratization and glasnost. The supreme duty of mass information workers is to serve the people. It is necessary to overcome one's emotions and the use of convenient stereotypes and to think about the people and society. To consider their past, present, and future knowledgeably and responsibly and to do so together with workers and kolkhoz members, party workers and leaders of enterprises, and scientists and cultural figures and to direct their efforts toward making use of the material and spiritual potential which our country has.

The party is the main guarantor of the development of socialist democracy. In this process, too, it is in the vanguard, scientifically considering and proposing the policy of democratization and the strategy for accomplishing practical tasks and setting an example of the restructuring of internal party life on a truly democratic basis. Socialist society and our democracy are in extreme need of an active and strong policy and of the cadres which it has trained for decades and continues to train.

Democratization is the vital condition of restructuring. It is only through the mechanisms of democracy and the socialist self-management of the people that millions of people can be involved and given an interest in the transformations that are being carried out. And where there are millions of people there, also, is the beginning of policy. This is when restructuring takes place.

HISTORIAN, JOURNALIST DISCUSS HISTORICAL TRUTH

PM291540 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jul 87 p 10

[Discussion between Yu. Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Yu. Yanovskiy, under the rubric "1917-1987": "Valuing Every Year of Our History" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Yu. Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Yu. Yanovskiy discuss problems of historical science and its role in illuminating the process of revolutionary transformations from October to our own day.

[Yanovskiy] In preparing for the 70th anniversary of Great October, we turn with particular enthusiasm to the pages of the past, the experience of the revolution and socialist building. From the viewpoint of scholars, modern society is not very old -- what are a few decades, in historical terms? But for social practice it is a substantial time -- there is something to talk about, something to think about. And especially now, in a time of restructuring: In order to move forward, it is necessary to draw up firm social guidelines commensurate with the times. Historical science is called upon to help in this. Is it ready to do so? In recent decades patently negative aspects of the creative activity of historians have begun to become apparent.... But presumably historians reflected the general situation in the country?

[Polyakov] An undoubted contradiction has arisen. Public interest in history is growing, taking many different and at times surprising forms. At the same time the prestige of historical science, especially in key areas, has fallen. The public's confidence in the historian's word has decreased.

Apart from a scientific approach, which is essential always and everywhere, the historian must on no account bypass tricky problems, round off corners, or write deliberate untruths or half-truths.

The truth about history helps the people not only to mark their festivals, but also to understand the reasons for and nature of the black days, not only to become fully conscious of their own forces, but also to perceive the historical roots of whatever hampers progress. The idea that science should study and make available to everyone the truth about history, that history must not be either improved on or detracted from, that the past should be publicized objectively, is by no means new. It has been proclaimed and reaffirmed many times, in print and speech.

But we historians by no means always follow our own declarations in every respect. There are many reasons for this. It is naive to suppose that scholars keep true history in their inkwells the way that Swiss bankers keep other people's gold in their safes, and that they are unwilling or unable to bring the truth out into the open. Every historical phenomenon has many facets and is woven of contradictions. A historian may see one side, study it, talk about it, and be convinced that he is speaking and writing the truth. But that is the truth about one side, and every historical phenomenon has other aspects too.... It is extremely difficult to create an objective, comprehensive picture and reproduce the whole truth. Many of us simply do not have the patience, persistence, and skill to do that.

In a word, the insufficiently high standard of a number of historical studies, the insufficient depth of analysis, is one reason for the fall in the prestige of historical science.

[Yanovskiy] But has not science also been affected by what could be called the opportunistic representation of historical events?

[Polyakov] Opportunism has, I agree, done considerable damage to science. For a long time it oriented researchers toward exaggerating enormously particulary historical events, overstating the role of particular figures, or, conversely, understating it to the advantage of others.

Such distortions took on a huge scale under the influence of Stalin's personality cult. Back in 1929 works were already appearing which exaggerated his role in the October Revolution and the Civil War. The avalanche of such distortions swelled for no less than 25 years. At that time it was considered impossible to write any work on the history of Soviet society without showing the exaggerated role of the "leader" [vozhd] and teacher," without unrestrained praise for him. The reworking of history to the glory of Stalin reached absurd heights, but people did not seem to notice it. They were used to not noticing.

It was at that time that it became the norm to violate the principles of historicism. People who, in the twenties, came out against the "party's general line" began to be accused of subversive actions regarding the history of the 1905-1907 revolution and the times of October and the Civil War. Their names were either not mentioned at all, or mentioned with the label "enemy of the people." In the books of that time you cannot find the elementary report that "L.B. Kamenev, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, did so-and-so..." That name could only be heard in this standard context: "Enemy of the people Kamenev, who had forced his way into the posts of chairman of Moscow City Soviet, hampered in every way..."

In the majority of reference ("summarizing") books and history textbooks, the reader could not even find the names of all the chairmen of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and Council of Ministers. Yet in the 70 years of soviet power only 10 people have held that post.

If party and state figures who suffered repressions under Stalin were mentioned at all, it was exclusively in negative terms. At the same time (just in case) there was no mention of those people about whose fate there was no reliable information. History was depopulated. I think the respect and confidence in historians was undermined even then.

[Yanovskiy] I remember my prewar school years, spent in Kiev. Postyshev, then secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee, came to our school several times and devoted much attention to the children. Like all the schoolchildren of the time, we took part in demonstrations and welcomed Kosior, Petrovskiy, Lyubchenko, Yakir, and other republican leaders as they stood on the platform. Suddenly their names disappeared, they became seditious, it was forbodden to utter them.

[Polyakov] The 20th CPSU Congress changed much for the better. A significant proportion of party, state, and military figures -- including the names you mentioned -- were restored to history.

But soon new distortions of historical truth began. In works devoted to the sixties and seventies, more and more elements of ostentation began to appear, and the history of those years gradually became a "Guide to the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements." The simplistic, one-sided understanding of the concept of socialism led to the suppression of negative phenomena, darker aspects, difficulties, and contradictions. The distortions affected other chronological periods too. Everyone remembers how in the seventies events of the last war which were relatively small in scale were depicted as the most important, key events.

Monographs and scholarly and popular articles were written about the decisive significance of Brezhnev's activity in Malay Zemlya, which was also energetically extolled in anthologies and in major, multivolume works.

Later, patently exaggerated assessments of Chernenko's role in the Patriotic War began to appear. You only have to look, for instance, at the article devoted to him in the first edition of the encyclopedia "The Great Patriotic War."

Why did this happen? Let us not idealize authors -- many showed opportunistic alacrity, willingly and gladly and with considerable initiative. But this alacrity was encouraged by the situation which, as the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum noted, had become established on the theoretical front as a whole, when "lively debates and creative thought had abandoned theory and social science, and authoritarian assessments and judgments had become irrefutable truths which could only be commented on."

In the history offices of publishing houses and journals, a tendency to play it safe began to prevail. Editors were particularly zealous about removing anything that aroused doubt, that appeared controversial or did not even appear so, but might appear so. I repeatedly encountered a situation where an editor compared the formulations in a manuscript with the formulations of official or reliably approved publications. On finding a "variant reading," he would demand its elimination. Given this state of affairs it was hard to put through an original, new idea or a fundamentally new conclusion, or to offer your own definitions, more profound and precise than those that went before. Neither the publishing houses nor the leading bodies in charge of science encouraged "liberties."

At one time the journal ISTORIYA SSSR, where I was a senior editor, published the reminiscences of Shulgin. He is well known. He has certainly gone down in history. In various ways, but he did. He received the abdication of the last czar. He fought fiercely against the revolution. After living through 25 years of exile, finding himself in our country against his will, being sentenced by a Soviet court for his past counterrevolutionary activity, and being released early, Shulgin did not admit nor understand everything. But a great deal.

We published extracts from his reminiscences, furnishing them with a commentary, as is customary in a scholarly journal. NEDELYA reprinted a few pages. These reminiscences were useful as the frank confession of a former enemy and as the memoirs of a historical figure. Shulgin still had a good memory at an advanced age, and specialists found in his reminiscences previously unknown facts and vivid characterizations. And what happened? One of the then "chiefs" of science said: "We are printing our enemies! What use is that? Measures must be adopted." They were promptly adopted. I was in trouble, and the editors of NEDELYA and IZVESTIYA even more so. Publications of this kind were stopped for many years.

What am I trying to say? Opportunistic considerations greatly hampered historians, and it was for that reason that they often departed from objective evaluation and scientific analysis of the events of the post-October period.

[Yanovskiy] The situation is changing now. How do you assess the progress of the restructuring in historical science? Are changes in evidence?

[Polyakov] The creation of scholarly works with new materials and new conclusions takes time. The psychological mood of the scholars is changing, and very markedly. There is less deference, criticism is becoming sharper, debates are taking on a fundamentally different, really creative nature. Historians are writing in the press more often and in a more interesting way.

Yes, much has changed. Last fall I wrote an article demonstrating the need for truth in history. At the time the editor of a highly prestigious journal thought it was too bold, and suggested waiting for a relevant resolution on historical science. But now I have thrown this article into the wastebasket myself, because there is no longer anything to prove, no need to persuade people -- what I was trying to say less than a year ago, when I was trying to break down a closed door, is now recognized, and saying it now would be breaking down an open door...

The majority of scholars, it seems to me, are now united in their understanding that history must be "repopulated," and are ready to remove the cloak of invisibility from the facts about the past. Only the most retrogressive atavists will oppose this. The dogmatists are still relatively strong, and continue to see it as their main task to retell party documents and offer superficial commentary on them. On the other hand, critics are becoming increasingly active, calling into question practically every achievement of soviet power. I have no doubt that given the frank expression of views, which formerly was virtually absent, the polarization of views will intensify. The main debates are still to come.

The main thing now is to reveal the pages of our history broadly and fully, with sincerity and conviction, avoiding extremes which are far removed from science, not with dispassionate objectivity, but in a party-minded way, on the basis of a well-founded analysis of historical experience and making use of the existing achievements of historiography. M.S. Gorbachev was undoubtedly right when he stressed in his conversation with Gabriel Garcia Marquez, that we should value every day we have lived through since the October Revolution. While showing the terrible days of errors and tragedies, we cannot allow disrespect for the generations which created the foundations of socialism.

The most difficult thing we have to overcome is probably the weakness of independent creative research, the tendency to adhere to stereotypes. Many historians have chosen the easy path of repeating well-known and therefore safe truths.

[Yanovskiy] Some people go to the other extreme -- the thirst for sensation, for "hot facts," for loud but empty discussions of the obvious.

[Polyakov] Take a historian's word for it -- no historical change has ever escaped the foam on the crest of the wave. The people you are talking about exist. There are also scathing publications in the "spirit of the demands." They do not explain the approaches to the present day, their arguments are lightweight, and the gross factual errors can only discredit the idea of restructuring. There are also "scholars" who see it as their task to replace some names and some quotations with others. Those same authors who energetically described Brezhnev's role in the Patriotic War now do not even mention his name. It is a good thing that the truth is being restored. But how can people earn respect when they do not merely put opportunistic considerations above everything else, but in essence create those considerations themselves -- using the same old formulas again today, in the new conditions? Who can assess the moral damage done by sudden switches from unrestrained praise and showers of quotations to total anonymity and almost complete silence?

[Yanovskiy] Incidentally, about quotations. Historians are fond of quoting leading figures and official resolutions, and not infrequently abuse this, losing sight of their own opinion among the quotations.

[Polyakov] I do not dispute that in some works there are so many quotations that they are like the crystals which settle on the bottom in an oversaturated solution. But I am not against quoting historical figures. A quotation is a piece of evidence, a document containing an assessment of events, the opinion of an eyewitness of participant. If you are talking about the 8th Congress of Soviets or the 18th party congress, or about the war, why not quote Stalin -- who was an active participant there? If you are talking about the 20th, 21st, or 22d congresses, why not cite the words of Khrushchev, who, on behalf of the Central Committee, gave an assessment of the moment, the phenomena, the events? If you are talking about the events of 1964-1982, why not quote Brezhnev? By refusing to mention their names and their words -- where this is apposite and to the point -- we are making a mistake similar to the earlier mistakes.

But I am opposed to quotations cited on any pretext or none, quotations which are substitute for thought on the author's part, which prove only that the author reads the newspapers, journals, and books.

[Yanovskiy] The gaps in modern historical sciences, the so-called "blank pages" which your colleagues have not filled for a long time, but which arouse lively interest among readers, have in recent years begun to be made up for by historical fiction. One recalls dozens of novels, novellas, and short stories written on topics which were not touched on or were covered extremely poorly by historians -- from the time of Ivan the Terrible to our own day. Some of them are written interestingly, with talent, and are historically reliable. But there are works which contain serious distortions of historical facts. However, this literature continues to be published: No obstacles are placed in the path of inaccuracies and errors which disorient the reader. Yet it is the historians who should do that, who are responsible first and foremost for eliminating the "blank pages" in the annals of mankind, and especially in the annals of the Soviet people.

[Polyakov] There is no denying it, writers have long since overtaken historians in the formulation of tricky questions. Let us remember, in particular, that in the history of the Patriotic War many artistic works reflected the difficulties, failures, and defeats of those times, while in historical works about the war there were only fanfares and victory drums.

[Yanovskiy] The highly dramatic events connected with the life story of Army General Petrov, bypassed by historians, were made public, in particular, in V. Karpov's documentary story "The General" ["Polkovodets"]. There are other pages of the history of the last war which have also been left untouched by historians. And indeed, are these the only omissions? I have scarcely encountered any studies of the reasons for the pernicious phenomena which have not yet been eradicated in the national economy, ideology, science, trade, health care, and the work of law enforcement organs. Here, I believe, historical science lags behind literature, where we have seen the appearance of interesting works by writers like Ch. Aytmatov, D. Granin, A. Rybakov, and A. Dudintsev, revealing negative aspects of our society's development.

[Polyakov] There is an admittedly complex, but sufficiently clear link between scientific literature on history and historical fiction. The point is that the standard of scientific studies inevitably affects the standard of artistic historical books. The well-substantiated scientific study of a problem, clarity of conception, abundance and fullness of published sources arm the writer and give him the opportunity to create a truthful, reliable picture (I am not talking about artistic merit -- that depends on his talent). And conversely, the absence of reliable sources, insufficient background research, and especially the existence of scientifically unsubstantiated assessments make the writer's task more difficult, promote the distortion of historical truth and the violation of the principles of historicism, and push people toward wild flights of fantasy.

The weaknesses of historical science go a long way toward explaining the evident fact that many pieces of literary hackwork appear on historical themes. They are sometimes among the most widely read works, being attractive by virtue of their supposed entertainment value, the "piquancy" of their subjects, historical color, and above all heroes and facts which historians keep quiet about. By arousing what I would call an unhealthy interest, they are harmful to historical education, harmful because of their conceptual ignorance, numerous factual errors, primitivism, and vulgarization of the past. The historian is not the writer's rival. He is his brother and helper.

[Yanovskiy] Many examples could be cited to demonstrate the inadequate influence of historical science on literature and on the formation of public opinion. One topical one is the writings of certain figures from the notorious "Pamyat" society. Having no convincing historical substantiations for many social phenomena, its participants in some cases stray into the positions of monarchism, nationalism, and anarchy and preach Black Hundred convictions. I see this too as a manifestation of the fall in the prestige of historical science which we spoke of at the beginning of our conversation.

[Polyakov] In our country we have a strong love of our own history, and it is no accident that cunning adventurists have begun to prey on it parasitically. They try to use this important factor in the people's consciousness for purposes which have nothing in common with science and history. Ignorance never did anyone any good. Bellicose ignorance is dangerous, and if it is tendentious and demagogic, it is doubly dangerous.

[Yanovskiy] With every year, month, even day, facts from our society's history which only recently were banned are coming out. Soon, I am sure, they will all be made public. And here I cannot but quote M.S. Gorbachev's words in his recent report at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum: "We urgently need a fundamental breakthrough on the theoretical front, based on strict analysis of the totality of facts of public life and scientific substantiation of the toals and prospects of our movement."

Enlarging on this idea, how would you formulate the historians' task in the conditions of restructuring?

[Polyakov] The main task is to improve the standard of scientific works so that research convinces people and establishes our truth through facts, logic, and arguments. In our works historical processes should appear not in a "corrected" form, made to fit in with a preconceived design, but in all their complexity and contradictoriness. And, of course, the prohibited zones, prohibited topics, "blank pages," should be entirely eliminated. History should be completely purged of distortions and things left unsaid.

Historical education is an important part of our general creative potential. It must not be forgotten that historical truth is an essential component of society's spiritual health. Unless we eradicate the counterfeiting of the truth, unless we end timidity of thought, unless we discard indifferent, cold pens, our living, brilliant science could become a cold tramcar spinning along well-worn rails.

History is not politics turned toward the past. It is the science of the past, promoting the elaboration and implementation of party policy. Only the honest, principled, and open fulfillment of these vitally important functions will elevate the merit of historical science in the people's eyes.

IZVESTIYA ARTICLE ANSWERS STROYBANK CHAIRMAN

PM301145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences L. Braginskiy: "The Bank: The Search for Interest; Thoughts on an IZVESTIYA Interview"; final paragraph is IZVESTIYA comment]

[Text] The problems that are now being examined and resolved in the process of restructuring the economic mechanism for the management of the economy may be hypothetically divided into two groups: traditional and nontraditional. Among the former I would include those that have been studied for many years in approximately the same "key." Thus, for instance, for all their special importance, questions of centralization have always been examined by us from positions of bringing prices close to socially necessary expenditure on production and from their reflection of consumer properties, quality, and purchasing power.

But questions of bank activity and the transition of management with the aid of the implementation of credit policy may entirely possibly be included among nontraditional problems. The point is that in the socialist economy the role of the bank and of credit has been assigned a secondary place. We can well recall the words uttered from a lofty platform to the effect that commodity-money relations in our country perform an ancillary, auxiliary role. And since that is so the functions of the world's largest bank -- the USSR Gosbank -- developed accordingly.

Its operations with all echelons of the national economy and the population have grown: In terms of money turnover they reached a truly astronomical figure -- R3.3 trillion a year, which is 2.4 times the cost of the gross social product. The sum of short-term credits issued also totalled many billions. The bank's real role here was highly insignificant -- it came down mainly to implementing continuous accounting between enterprises and organization, but it had little influence on the effectiveness of the economy.

For instance, it is no accident that credit interest rates -- those main guidelines and demands on the return on the loans invested -- were for some reason many times lower than the unified normatives for the effectiveness of investments. And the conclusions drawn at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum on credit's loss of its role and on the erasing of the boundaries of credit were to some extent a reflection of the general conception of the limited nature of the influence of this very important economic instrument, in connection with which we are now faced with the task of restoring the basic principles of providing credits. We can even speak of the existence of an approximate correspondence between the development of credit and commodity-money relations, and as the latter are rapidly built up, the importance of the credit apparatus should increase immeasurably.

We have now come to a complete reassessment of the place of commodity-money relations, and therefore we must take an utterly new look at the role and place of the bank and of credit under socialism so they can "get to work" at full strength to the benefit of the economy. That is why our attention was attracted by an interview given by M.S. Zotov, chairman of the Board of the USSR Bank for Financing Capital Investments [Stroybank], to an IZVESTIYA correspondent under the heading "The Bank: A New Role in the Economy?"

Although Stroybank is not Gosbank and the dimensions of its activity are far similar, we were very interested to learn the opinion and position of a man who is taking a direct part in restructuring the work of the bank and preparing appropriate proposals in this direction. [paragraph continues]

Let us note immediately that the interview contains a number of fundamentally correct premises. We can include among these primarily the proposals to implement Lenin's idea on the management of the economy through the bank and on banks' "merging" with enterprises. These premises are the first step toward the solution of specific ways of reorganizing the bank's activity under new conditions. They are the point of departure, so to speak, for restructuring work, especially since the Stroybank takes a direct part in implementing the investment program and is called on to use financial means to influence the raising of the efficiency of capital investments.

But disillusionment awaits us here. If we sum up all M.S. Zotov's statements, they come down to the following specific proposals. First, the proportion of long-term credit in capital investments in the national economy should increase from 4 percent to 20-30 percent. Second, it is desirable that this credit should be brought in more extensively to finance above-limit construction sites. And, third, we should seek the prompt repayment of loans for which the work of all echelons of the investment process must be monitored even more powerfully.

But each proposal raises a new question. Because credit is the right to obtain additional monetary resources, the proportion of credit cannot be increased by an administrative act. For enterprises to take advantage of this right, and to take advantage of it in a responsible manner, it is essential to carry out the comprehensive restructuring of the entire system of distribution and to considerably increase enterprises' responsibility for effectiveness. It is therefore no accident that "The Basic Provisions for the Fundamental Restructuring of the Management of the Economy" approved at the party Central Committee plenum directly link the development of credit relations with the development of enterprises' self-financing and the implementation of a radical and comprehensive financial and credit reform. Only this will make it possible to restore the economic boundaries separating credit from non-returnable budget financing. But nothing is said about this.

It is also utterly incomprehensible why bank credit should be involved only in installing above-limit establishments. After all behind this way of raising the question stands some kind of "Great Wall of China" separating the state's construction sites from enterprises' construction sites and, ultimately, separating their interests. The result is that enterprises seem utterly uninterested in state capital investments, although the latter are made not in general for the solution of some general tasks but for these same enterprises, because they serve to supplement their fixed capital. That is why there are no reasons preventing the transfer of the financing of limited capital investments for production purposes for budget forms to credit forms. I think all these questions should be examined during preparation for the reform of finances.

Finally, about bank control: Of course, the figures cited in the interview for the number of projects Stroybank has "rejected" are impressive. But, first, the growth of control checks and inspections, including by bank departments, has so far failed to improve the situation in construction. Yet the diversion of workers to give explanations to those doing the checks is still increasing. And, second, and it is particularly important to note this, checks using the Stroybank's efforts differ little from checks carried out by workers from the Gosstroy, the Arkhstroyinspektsiya [expansion unknown], and other organizations. And the measures the Stroybank is undertaking are just as "effective" as all the others: reports to higher-ranking organs, announcements of reprimands, and so forth. Although the interview contains true words about the transition from administrative methods of influence to control through the ruble, they "hang" in the air as it were.

Here too it is evidently high time to speak about what the bank can and must do if, following Lenin's behests, it becomes an institute for managing the national economy. Let us recall these words: "The large banks are the 'state apparatus' we need to implement socialism and which we take ready-made from capitalism. Our task here is merely to cut off what is imparting a capitalist distortion to this excellent apparatus and to make it even larger, even more democratic, even more all-embracing."

Let's draw attention to the words, highlighted by V.I. Lenin, to the effect that the bank is a ready-made, fully formed apparatus from which you only have to cut off the elements that distort it. For instance, under socialism banks cannot undertake speculative operations with securities, including land mortgage and so forth. But, in carrying out this severing operation, we obtain everything necessary to turn the bank into a center for regulating all economic life. And you do not need to think up anything here, creating some special bank structure that is "our own."

Let us note that we have only the most superficial idea of the experience of the work of foreign banks. Unfortunately, specialists often do not have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with banking practice locally. We derive the bulk of our information from articles by journalists who are international specialists and who write in the most general outline even about problems with which they are familiar. For instance, it is no accident that you read in newspapers of discounts on the bank interest rates on which credits are issued, although credits are not issued at these rates.

Yet the work of banks in the world's developed countries is based on the selection of projects for financing through credits, the determination of clients' credit-worthiness, and the establishment of the "cost" of credit, that is the interest rate. Highly qualified specialists -- the bank's experts who comprise the "backbone" of its apparatus -- examine proposals for issuing credit and then make a decision on the expediency and effectiveness of credit investments and on the term and interest rates for loans. Here, of course, they do not overlook the bank's interests from the viewpoint of the prompt reimbursement of loans and the interest also gives "cover" against the risk of possible losses connected with a particular production facility and the degree to which output sales are guaranteed. All this turns the bank into the enterprises' partner.

But in M.S. Zotov's interview methods of bank activity and proposals for bank administration are in practice retained in their present state, although true words were spoken about the need to reject existing stereotypes. The following detail is curious here. The interview cites the figure of R1.7 billion profit for Stroybank for the results of its work for 1986. It cannot fail to cause surprise.

The situation in construction is still extremely grave, there is a great amount of uncompleted production, and targets for commissioning many projects are not being fulfilled. And under these conditions Stroybank completes the year with an enormous profit. How does this come about? Is it that the worse things are going in construction the stronger the bank's economic position is? Yet the chairman of the board of Stroybank even raises the question of the need to swell the bank economic accountability [khozraschet] funds from this profit. A surprising position, frankly.

In fact, opinions of this sort prove possible because so far there has been no definition of the status of banking activity under the new conditions or of the status of bank economic accountability which, of course, differs from ecnomic accountability in industry and other production sectors. The bank's profit, formed from interest payments, including, and mainly from, loans which are not paid off within the stipulated time (here interest rates are far higher) is the result of unrealized profit.

However paradoxical it may seem, the loss of the national economy as a whole connected with shortcomings in investment activity serves as the source of this profit. These shortcomings were to a considerable degree preprogrammed at the stage of the selection of projects when construction sites which are not backed up by resources are included in the work plan. And the bank's influence on the selection of projects under the existing system of financing is extremely inadequate. The result is that the bank is playing a game it cannot lose, and the possibility of "going bust" does not threaten it.

The organization of a network of specialized banks will also require very serious preparatory work. The principle of creating national economic complexes has been put at the basis of their formation. This problem should be examined with a consideration for the undoubted fact that the complexes now being formed are of varying degrees of profitability. Thus, for instance, the Agroprom Bank can under present conditions find itself in a more complex position than a bank for industry. In addition, the former has accumulated a quite heavy "baggage" in the form of the many millions owed in arrears by kolkhozes and sovkhozes on credits of previous years, including on deferred payments. And the projected restructuring of the system of prices, including purchase prices for agriculture, together with other measures will produce results only after a certain amount of time. In the meantime the Agroprom bank, which it is proposed to transfer to a footing of total economic accountability, will experience funding difficulties and will itself become a client of other banks.

Perhaps it would also be worth thinking about creating a network of functional banks following the example of the socialist countries. For instance, an investment bank geared to providing credit for scientific and technical development. State and cooperative enterprises and even individual citizens could use their assets to take part in it. In our view commercial banks of this kind would accelerate the implementation of new projects and ensure financial support for initiative.

From the editorial office: The interview with M.S. Zotov was preceded by a headline in which the new role of the bank in the economy was qualified by a question mark. It is obvious that the actual implementation of transformations in the work of banks at the new turning point in the economy's development will require serious solutions, nontraditional approaches, and bold actions. The necessary prerequisites are now being created for this. And it is the search for these solutions that is of special interest today.

RAILWAYS MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON TRANSPORT BACKLOG

LD011646 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Jul 87

[Report on conference call at the Ministry of Railways, including interview with Railways Minister Nikolay Konarev, by correspondent L. Elin on the "Vremya" newscast -- recorded; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] This report is based on the weekly conference call from the Ministry of Railways. All the country's railways are in contact with the Ministry of Railways. The results of the sector's work over the past 7 months are being summed up, and despite the fact that a certain amount of economic success has been achieved, the losses permitted in the 1st quarter have nonetheless not been fully made up. The transportation backlog amounts to about 39 million tonnes of freight. Trains are running late and the standard of passenger transportation is low. The Volga Valley, Gorkiy, and Lvov Railways are not fulfilling their plans. It is, therefore, even more important to develop the experience of the leading railways, such as the Moscow, Virginlands, and especially the Belorussian Railways, all of which have already been operating on the principles of full financial autonomy and self-financing. [paragraph continues]

In the area where the Virginlands Railway runs, for instance, new industrial centers are being created. The volume of transportation is increasing and the collective is working stably. [passage omitted]

[Konarev -- addressing railway officials via speakerphone] It is probably appropriate for us to question those who are letting us down and who are systematically knocking us off our course. Volga Valley Railway: Keep your word!

[Correspondent] Let us add that this is one of those railways that is not only failing to carry out its plans but is also operating at a loss. [passage omitted]

The conversation about unsolved problems is exacting, principled, and impartial. It is about what each railway needs to do to complete the year successfully.

Nikolay Semenovich, what progress is being achieved in restructuring rail transportation?

[Konarev] Summing up the results of today's analysis, I would like to answer your question as follows. As a whole, restructuring is proceeding dynamically and at the required level with the achievement of definite positive results. In particular, our economic performance indicators are quite good. In the past 7 months we have increased productivity by 7.5 percent. However, at the same time we are on the whole dissatisfied with the results of our work over the 7 months. We have a great deal to do to improve passenger transportation and to ensure the safety of rail traffic.

[Correspondent] Is the sector being transferred to financial autonomy?

[Konarev] This is one of the main areas of our work at present. The structures, all the performance indicators, and the indicators for state orders are being finalized. Powerful specialized preparations are under way for this great and necessary creative undertaking.

MEDIA REPORT AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR 1-3 AUG

LD040223 [Editorial Report] The following is a compliation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, from 1-3 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 August

Procurement of fodder is gathering pace in Bashkiria. After the rains that fell in mid-July, the grass has started growing. In the south Zauralye rayons, up to 70 and more quintals of hay toward the plan have already been laid in. However, in the automomous republic as a whole, the fodder situation is so far causing alarm. Efforts must be doubled and tripled to repair omissions. (0000)

All rayons of the Mari non-blacksoil zone have entered the 1987 harvesting campaign. The ASSR's crop farmers are to harvest grain crops and pulses from 330,000 hectares. Bread grains have ripened in a stunted form this year. Because of the bad weather, many of them have lodged. For this reason, the mechanizers have re-equipped combines and fitted them with special devices, and for each field the agronomical service has drawn up special harvesting technology. (0400)

In Krasnodar Kray, the harvesting of bread grain is being completed. Today the farmers of the kray have started the sale of the third million metric ton of bread grain. Practically all the wheat is either valuable or strong. (1100)

2 August

Large scale harvesting of bread grain is going ahead in Tula Oblast, which has one of the largest areas under grain in the non-black earth zone. Working mainly on contract, the harvesting complexes plan to gather all the cereals in 10 days. (0800)

Most Crimean collective and state farms have completed the harvesting of grain and cereal crops. On average, they have managed to process 7 hectares a day. Ninety-six percent of the wheat is of top quality, strong, and valuable varieties. (1300)

3 August

East Kazakhstan Oblast today began harvesting winter rye and threshing spring barley. Grain and pulses occupy more than 520,000 hectares there. (1100)

The season's first shipment of new-harvest wheat from the Kuban arrived in Moscow today from Rostov. The Western port is preparing to receive a Volgodon-type dry cargo ship, which will sail direct to Azov sea from Yeysk. (1100)

PROGRESS-31 SPACE CARGO VESSEL LAUNCHED

LD032327 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2301 GMT 3 Aug 87

[Text] [No dateline as received] In accordance with the program for further operations on the orbital science-research complex 'Mir,' the launch of the "Progress-31" automatic cargo vessel was carried out in the Soviet Union on 4 August 1987 at 0044 Moscow time [2044 GMT].

The purpose behind launching the ship is to deliver expendable materials and various cargoes to the manned complex 'Mir.'

The "Progress-31" ship was put into orbit with the following parameters:

-- maximum distance from the earth's surface - 269 km;
-- minimum distance from the earth's surface - 193 km;
-- period of revolution - 88.8 minutes;
-- inclination - 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric readings, the on-board systems of the automatic cargo vessel are working normally.

PRAVDA GIVES PARAMETERS FOR COSMOS-1871

PM031440 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 87 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Satellite Launched"]

[Text] The launch of the latest artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1871," took place in the Soviet Union on 1 August 1987.

Scientific equipment installed on board the satellite is designed to continue the exploration of space.

The satellite was inserted into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of orbit -- 88.3 minutes;
Maximum distance from the earth's surface (at apogee) -- 212 km;
Minimum distance from the earth's surface (at perigee) -- 191 km;
Inclination of orbit -- 97 degrees.

Apart from the scientific equipment, on board the satellite are:

A radio system for accurate measurement of the elements of the orbit;

A radiotelemetric system for transmitting to earth data on the operation of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The equipment installed on the satellite is functioning normally.

The computer coordination center is processing the information that arrives.

'AT LEAST A DOZEN' SOVIET SOLDIERS DESERT IN GDR

DW021231 Hamburg BILD in German 1 Aug 87 pp 1, 8

[Unattributed article: "Deserter in 'GDR' Hunted by 10 Tanks and 100 Men"]

[Text] The Hof-Berlin transit autobahn near Leipzig was blocked Wednesday night because a Soviet soldier had deserted. He was hunted by at least 100 Soviet soldiers and 10 tanks, BILD learned from intelligence sources. Official reports in 'GDR' newspapers said a lawbreaker was being chased.

Shots were fired in the light of searchlights. The Soviet soldier, aged about 20, was encircled and caught after 6 hours. He threw his Kalashnikov away when he saw he did not have chance to get away. An Intra-German expert reported: "He is now in for a death sentence by a court martial, and he will be executed by a firing squad."

The Soviet troops in the "GDR" have set up so-called hunting commandos, because at least a dozen Soviet soldiers deserted this year. They were shot by the hunting commandos like rabbits or commited suicide. The (about 500,000) young Soviet soldiers in the "GDR" live in terrible conditions: drill to total exhaustion, bad food (mostly soups and bread, little meat), 1 pack of Makhorka (cheap tobacco) every day, and M20 a month.

NAVY POLITICAL DIRECTORATE CHIEF INTERVIEWED

PM311101 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jul 87 p 2

[Interview with Vice Admiral V.I. Panin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Navy Political Directorate, under the rubric "Today Is USSR Navy Day" and headlined "Ships and People" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Vice Admiral V.I. Panin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Navy Political Directorate, answers the newspaper TRUD's questions.

[Panin] Now -- while we are talking -- as everyday, be it an ordinary day or a holiday, Soviet ships are in high combat readiness. Some of them are performing far from their native shores their tasks for the reliable defense of the state interests of the motherland and its allies and friends. Training voyages are taking place. Our sailors annually call at foreign ports on friendly and businesslike visits. Thus, we also celebrate our holiday on watch, as we say in military language.

[TRUD] Despite the fact that in the eighties the pace of the U.S. arms race has sharply increased, we have maintained military-strategic parity. What does this mean for the Navy?

[Panin] The Navy's composition and development prospects are indissolubly linked with CPSU military policy. Our party firmly follows the Leninist course of creation and peace. The military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states is weighty confirmation of this. It is purely defensive in character and its task is not to permit war -- either nuclear or conventional. An important feature of our doctrine is the dialectical interlinkage of the socialist states' peace-loving policy and their readiness and determination to defend their social gains. [paragraph continues]

Our country proposed restricting the patrol limits of nuclear missile submarines, completely demilitarizing the Indian Ocean, and withdrawing ships carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean...

Recently there has been a dangerous increase in tension in the Persian Gulf. The United States wanted to take advantage of the disturbing situation to implement its long-nurtured plans for military and political hegemony in this strategically important region. But the presence of some Soviet ships in the Persian Gulf is an enforced measure: They perform the function of accompanying our merchant ships and have nothing to do with the fueling of tension in this region. The Soviet Government has proposed the soonest possible withdrawal from the Gulf of ships belonging to states that have nothing to do with this region. But these proposals have not as yet met with a response from the West.

It is well known that the U.S. Congress has allocated a third of the Pentagon's total colossal budget to the Navy. Since 1984, the number of nuclear warheads on U.S. nuclear-powered submarines has increased by a thousand units. This has not passed unnoticed by us. As you see, the desire to disrupt the estabiished military-strategic parity in the world's oceans assumes a specific form in Washington. This must be taken into consideration. The Soviet state is forced to keep the Armed Forces, including the Navy, at the level of strength that would allow it to ward off any external attack. We have now set up a modern nuclear-missile ocean fleet. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] It seems to us that there are no particular problems with the Navy.

[Panin] I would not say that -- even on the holiday. Restructuring needs new approaches and new decisions. There are specific questions for military collectives. As is known, twice a year we have a partial change in personnel. New people arrive. If there have been shortcomings on their education at school, in the family, and in the labor collective, we sense this immediately. Complex technology is entrusted to young men; at times the life of their comrades depends on their sense of responsibility and discipline, as does their success in fulfilling their training tasks. We do not always manage to instill in them respect for the regulations. Yet they form the basic code of our entire military life, formulated by many generations of defenders of the fatherland. Not for nothing is it said that the regulations are written in blood. It would seem that the simple truth is -- fulfill the mandates of the regulations and everything will be fine. But we do not always succeed in explaining this convincingly and in bringing it to the consciousness of every sailor.

Allow me to congratulate through your newspaper the personnel of ships and units, their relatives and close friends, our glorious veterans, ship designers and builders, and all readers on USSR Navy Day; to wish everyone good health and success in service and work; and for those who are now at sea -- good sailing!

UPGRADING OF TASHKENT MILITARY TRAINING ASSESSED

NC310919 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 28 Jul 87

[Text] The meeting in Tashkent by the Red Bannered Turkestan Military Okrug party aktivs today made a realistic assessment of the results of the effort to consolidate the fighting spirit of the military units and to upgrade their political training. The participants in the meeting discussed the tasks of the okrug political organs, organizations, and the communists concerning the implementation of the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum.

Lieutenant General Stefanovskiy, member of the Turkestan Military Okrug Council of chief of the Okrug Political Department [name and title as heard] read a report.

The meeting stressed the need for individual (?initiatives) aimed at improving political and [word indistinct] work, further consolidating discipline, and upgrading the [word indistinct] and fighting spirit of the military units until the time when the CPSU and the Soviet state will no longer need to maintain troops.

Major General Popov, commander of the Turkestan Military Okrug Units, addressed the meeting.

ARMY GENERAL LUSHEV SPEAKS AT SIBERIAN MD

PM311233 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 87 First Edition p 2

[Lieutenant General G. Dudenko report under the general heading: "In an Atmosphere of Exactingness; Party Aktiv Meetings]

[Text] Red Banner Siberian Military Districts -- A party aktiv meeting has been held in an atmosphere of exactingness and strict evaluation to discuss the tasks of the district's commanders, political organs, and party organizations stemming from the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions and the party Central Committee's demands on the USSR Armed Forces. The report was delivered by Army General P. Lushev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR first deputy defense minister.

The reasons for the shortcomings, still making themselves felt in personnel instruction and education and in resolving the tasks facing troops, were analyzed in the report and in the speeches by Colonel General N. Kalinin, district commander; Lieutenant General A. Ovchinnikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the District Political Directorate; Comrades S. Voloshin, A. Minenko, Yu. Zimin, and A. Sergadeyev; and others.

It was pointed out that not all Communists, and primarily Communist leaders, have yet been imbued with the demands of restructuring or with a sense of high responsibility for the end results of their labor, carelessness, and complacency have not been eradicated, and the desire to embellish the state of affairs and a superficial approach to resolving vitally important problems are still strong. Party exactingness toward military cadres has been lowered in a number of places, and criticism and self-criticism are not held in esteem. All this requires the strengthening of party influence on all aspects of the troops' life and activity and on resolving the tasks of further enhancing vigilance and combat readiness and strengthening military discipline, organization, and regulation order.

The party aktiv meeting was addressed by A. Filatov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Novosibirsk Party Obkom.

ARMED FORCES LEGAL EDUCATION BODY ESTABLISHED

PM311415 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 87 First Edition p 3

[Colonel of Justice S. Morozov report: "In the Interests of Legal Education"]

[Text] The constituent session of the Coordination and Methods Council for the Legal Education of Personnel, set up under the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has been held. The council comprises representatives of a number of USSR Defense Ministry directorates, the Main Political Directorate, military legal and personnel organs, and the mass media. There was discussion of the council's statute, which defines its functions, powers, and tasks, chief among which is coordination of the activities of main and central directorates in the legal education of personnel and in stepping up its influence on strengthening military discipline and law and order in the Army and Navy.

The adopted work plan concentrates on the elaboration of recommendations by the Coordination and Methods Council on introducing the "Officer's Legal Minimum" into the practice of troops and naval forces and, in this regard, preparing a single methods aid for the legal aktiv in strengthening military discipline and law and order in units and on ships.

The council pointed out that many commanders and political organs have relaxed attention toward the practical implementation of the recommendations formulated by the scientific and practical conference on urgent questions of personnel legal education, which the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate held in Leningrad in 1985. It was deemed expedient to analyze this area of work.

In the speech of Colonel General D. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and chairman of the Coordination and Methods Council, and in the course of an exchange of opinions, attention was drawn to the elaboration of the most effective ways to shape legal consciousness in all categories of personnel and respect for the law and for military regulations. Questions of fostering in servicemen a high sense of civil duty and responsibiliy for enhancing the combat readiness of units and ships and strengthening military discipline were raised. Measures designed to step up the work of the legal aktiv in asserting military law and order and regulation relations among servicemen were outlined, and, at the same time, it was emphasized that servicemen's legal consciousness is shaped most actively when legal edcuation is conducted in close unity with political and military education. The council examined the question of increasing the role of comrades' honor courts in strengthening discipline and law and order.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA URGES INCREASED 'VIGILANCE'

PM291437 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "According to the Laws of Vigilance']

[Text] Vigilance is our weapon. However military affairs develop, whatever sophisticated means of armed struggle we possess, this truth founded on class self-awareness and achieved through suffering in battles and trials is always topical for those who stand guard over October's gains with weapons in hand. Military cadres today are required, above all, to enhance vigilance, act still more decisively, and strengthen discipline, organization, responsiblity, and performance everywhere, at all levels.

The enhancement of vigilance is inseparably linked with improving the organization of alert duty and combat service and improving the training of all personnel. Here it is important to take into account the nature of modern combat and the increased potential of hardware and weapons. The ability to staunchly endure great moral and physical burdens, to forestall the enemy in opening fire, and to hit him at maximum range with the first shot, missile launch, or aircraft target run-in, by day or night -- these are qualities without which a vigilant serviceman is inconceivable. It is quite understandable that they are acquired more quickly by those who are taught without indulgence or oversimplification, under conditions close to those of real combat. It is the paramount task of those who organize and direct combat training to make the maximum use of every day and every hour of the period of hard summer combat work for these purposes.

Practice convinces us that alert duty and garrison and guard service always are performed better where work on fostering vigilance is conducted in conjunction with combat and political training continuously, both in everyday life and during exercises, flights, and sea voyages. This is precisely the approach to work, for example, in the "N" radio engineering unit commanded by Colonel A. Zhitkov. In addition to working out their questions, the qualities necessary for vigilant performance of alert duty are actively inculcated in personnel there in the training process. Specifically, constant inner composure, smartness, attentiveness, and the habit of rigorously fulfilling the set requuirements and acting boldly, decisively, and creatively in complex situations, while displaying independence, or fostered in servicemen. All this along with efficient organizations of the training process and of routine garrison duty and with daily educational work to assert regulation order in subunits -- contributes to the fact that the unit's servicemen constantly are distinguished by high vigilance and readiness for immediate action.

Unfortuantely, such a way of life, which best helps to educate personnel in the spirit of high vigilance and contant combat watchfulness [nastorozhennost], still is far from being ensured everywhere. An unprecendented instance of Soviet airspace being violated and certain other facts from Army and Navy reality convincingly show how much indiscipline, slovenliness, mismanagement, and irresponsibility there still is even where the least manifestation of them is criminal. Military people always must live according to the laws of the highest responsibility and work as hard as the interests of combat readiness demand. This view of Army and Navy daily life must be persistently inculcated in them. Naturally, this presupposes that they have a profound understanding of the whole complexity of the contemporary international situation, the existing danger of war, the new theses of Soviet military doctrine, and their own role in ensuring the constant readiness and ability of troops and naval forces to suppress any encroachments on our state's sovereignty. It is the very important task of military councils, commanders, political organs, staffs, and party and Komsomol organizations to achieve this in work with personnel.

Restructuring of people's psychology and thinking does not come about of its own accord. It is no good hoping for success where words about the need for high vigilance are not backed up by specific organizational work and where indulgences in combat training and service are tolerated. This is precisely the main reason why there is negligence in guard service, for example, in the "N" unit where Major A. Belyayev is chief of staff.

In certain units proper attention is not devoted during lessons and exercises to organizing the protection and defense of places where personnel, arms and combat hardware are located under field conditions. Instances where informaton earmarked for a strictly limited circle of people is divulged at various kinds of conferences and meetings have not been eradicated. [paragraph continues]

The blunting of vigilance and manifestations of carelessness and irresponsibility are frequently a consequence of the fact that the necessary work on explaining to personnel the statutes on responsiblity for divulging military and state secrets is not carried out in a unit or on board a ship. This is impermissible. The entire Army and Navy way of life and daily educational work with personnel must be subordinate to ruling out the slightest manifestations of carelessness.

Shortcomings associated with the organization of troop service and with ensuring coded communications and the keeping of military and state secrets are largely conditioned, as an analysis of their causes shows, by omissions in the training of commanders and other officials on these questions. It must be resolutely improved. It is necessary to proceed here from the premise that restructuring makes increased demands on every officer, on his competence, conviction, decisiveness, and readiness and ability to accept responsibility, to act independently, and to strive for a high end result. The right course is being taken where the theoretical training of officers is combined with teaching them practical actions under conditions where the opposing sides make extensive use of technical means of communication and carry out active signals intelligence work. The ability to ensure high vigilance, above all, on alert duty and when doing garrison and guard service, as well as in the daily life of units and ships, must be the decisive criterion of military cadres' professional maturity. With a view to improving cadre training, more active use must be made of frontline experience and the experience of progressive officers. The recertification of officers performing alert duty must serve this need.

Communists and Komsomol members must set an example of vigilance everywhere and in everything. Political organs and party organizations must actively assert and maintain in units, on board ships, and in management organs a moral atmosphere that will rule out manifestations of disorganizations, complacency, indecision, and irresponsibility. It is necessary to foster more persistently in personnel a keen sense of political and military vigilance and readiness to fulfill a combat order at any moment and come out more sharply against manifestations of slackness and carelessness, pacifism, and attacks by our ideological opponents. The military press and Army and Navy cultural and educational establishments can do a great deal for this.

Working in the spirit of restructuring, in the spirit of the party's demands on military cadres, means constantly remembering that vigilance is our weapon and doing everything to enhance it.